REFLECTIONS

On the CAUSES of the

GRANDEUR

AND

DECLENSION

OF THE

ROMANS.

BY THE

AUTHOR of the PERSIAN LETTERS.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

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CHAPTER I.

1. *The Infancy of* Rome. 2. *The Wars it ſuſtain'd.*

WE muſt not form to our ſelves an Idea of the City of *Rome*, in its Infancy, from the Cities which exiſt at this Time, unleſs we have in View thoſe of the *Crim Tartars*, built for the ſtowing and ſecuring of Plunder, Cattle, Fruits, and other Produce of

the Country. The antient Names of the chief Places in *Rome*, are all relative to this Uſe.

The City was even without Streets, unleſs we will give this Name to the Continuation of Roads which center'd in it. The Houſes were ſtraggling, built after an irregular Manner, and very ſmall; for the Inhabitants being always either at their Work, or in the publick Square, were very ſeldom at home.

ROMULUS, and his Succeſſors, were engag'd in almoſt perpetual Wars with their Neighbours, to increaſe the Number of their Citizens, their Women and their Territories. They us'd to return to the City, loaded with the Spoils of conquer'd Nations; and theſe Spoils, which conſiſted of Wheat-Sheaves and Flocks, us'd to fill 'em with the greateſt Joy. Such is the Origin of Triumphs, to which that City, afterwards, chiefly ow'd its Grandeur.

The Strength of the *Romans* was greatly increas'd by their Union with the *Sabines*, a ſtubborn, warlike People, reſembling the *Lacedæmonians* from whom they ſprung. *Romulus* [a] copied the Form of their Shields, which were large, and us'd 'em ever afterwards inſtead of the ſmall Buckler of *Argos*:

[a] Plutarch's *Life of* Romulus.

And

And 'tis to be obſerv'd, that the Circumſtance which chiefly raiſed the *Romans* to the Sovereignty of the World, was, their laying aſide their own Cuſtoms as ſoon as they met with better among the People they conquer'd; and 'tis well known that they fought ſucceſſively againſt all Nations.

The Reign of NUMA, being long and pacific, was very well adapted to leave the *Romans* in their humble Condition; and had their Territory in that Age been leſs confin'd, and their Power greater, 'tis probable their Fortune would have been fix'd for ever.

SEXTUS the Son of TARQUIN, by violating the Chaſtity of LUCRETIA, committed a Crime which has generally drove Tyrants from the Cities they preſided over; for when once a People are made ſtrongly ſenſible, by the Commiſſion of ſo enormous a Crime, of the Slavery to which they are reduc'd, they immediately form a deſperate Reſolution.

A People may ſuffer, without murmuring, the impoſing of new Tributes, ſince they are not certain but that ſome Advantage may accrue to themſelves, from the Diſpoſal of the Monies ſo levied: But when an Inſult is put upon them, they are affected with their Misfortune only; and this they aggravate, by affixing to it the Idea of all the Calamities which can poſſibly happen.

It muſt however be confeſs'd, that the Death of *Lucretia*, did no more than occaſion, accidentally, the Revolution which happen'd; for a haughty, enterprizing, bold People, confin'd within Walls, muſt neceſſarily either ſhake off the Yoke, or ſoften the Aſperity of their Manners.

From the Situation of Things at that time, this was the Reſult; Either that *Rome* ſhould change the Form of its Government, or continue for ever a ſmall, poor Monarchy.

Modern Hiſtory furniſhes us with a very remarkable Example of what happen'd at that time in *Rome*; for as Men have been ſenſible to the ſame Paſſions in all Ages, the Occaſions which give Riſe to great Revolutions, are various, but the Cauſes are for ever the ſame.

As HENRY VII of *England* increas'd the Power of the Commons, merely to humble the Nobility; ſo SERVIUS TULLIUS enlarged the Privileges of the People, in order to depreſs the Senate; but the People growing afterwards bolder, ruin'd each of the Monarchies under which they liv'd.

No flattering Colours have been employ'd, in the Picture which is left us of TARQUIN; his Name has not eſcap'd any of the Orators who declaim'd againſt Tyranny; but his Conduct before his Calamities, which 'tis evident he foreſaw; his Gentleneſs

tleneſs and Humanity towards the Conquer'd, his Beneficence to the Soldiers, the Arts by which he engaged ſuch Numbers to endeavour at his Preſervation, the Edifices he rais'd for the publick Uſe, his Courage in the Field, the Conſtancy and Patience with which he bore his Misfortunes, a Twenty Years War he either carried on, or caus'd to be carried on againſt the *Romans*, tho' depriv'd of his Kingdom, and very poor; theſe Things, and the Reſources he perpetually found, prove manifeſtly, that he was no contemptible Perſon.

The Rank or Place which Poſterity beſtows, is ſubject, as all others are, to the Whim and Caprice of Fortune: Woe to the Reputation of that Monarch who is oppreſſed by a Party which after becomes the prevailing one; or who has endeavour'd to deſtroy a Prepoſſeſſion that ſurvives him.

The *Romans*, after having baniſh'd their Kings, appointed Conſuls annually, a Circumſtance which contributed to raiſe 'em to ſo exalted a Pitch. In the Lives of all Princes there are certain Periods of Ambition, and theſe are afterwards ſucceeded by other Paſſions, and even by Indolence; but the Commonwealth being govern'd by Magiſtrates who were changed every Year, and who endeavour'd to ſignalize themſelves in their Employment, in the View of obtaining new ones, Ambition had not a Moment to loſe.

Hence it was that theſe Magiſtrates were ever perſuading the Senate to ſtir up the People to War, and pointed out to 'em new Enemies every Day.

This Body (the Senate) was inclin'd enough to do this of their own Accord; for, being quite tir'd of the Complaints and Demands of the People, they endeavour'd to remove the Occaſion of their Diſquiet, and to employ them in foreign Wars.

Now the common People were generally pleas'd with War, becauſe a Method had been found to make it beneficial to 'em, by the judicious Diſtribution that was made of the Spoils.

Rome being a City in which neither Trade nor Arts flouriſhed, the ſeveral Individuals had no other Way of enriching themſelves, but by Rapine.

An Order and Diſcipline was therefore eſtabliſhed in the Way and Manner of pillaging, and this was pretty near the ſame with that now practiſed among the Inhabitants of *Leſſer Tartary*[b].

The Plunder was laid together, and afterwards diſtributed among the Soldiers; not even the minuteſt Article was loſt, becauſe every Man, before he ſet out, ſwore not to embezzle any thing; beſides that the *Romans* were, of all Nations, the moſt religious

[b] *See* Polybius, *Book* X.

ligious Obſervers of Oaths, theſe being conſider'd as the Sinews of their Military Diſcipline.

In fine, thoſe Citizens who ſtaid at home, ſhar'd alſo in the Fruits of the Victory; for part of the conquer'd Lands was confiſcated, and this was ſubdivided into two Portions, one of which was ſold for the Benefit of the Publick, and the other divided by the Commonwealth, among ſuch Citizens as were but in poor Circumſtances, upon Condition of their paying a ſmall Acknowledgment.

As the Conſuls had no other Way of obtaining the Honour of a Triumph, than by a Conqueſt or a Victory, this made 'em ruſh into the Field with unparallel'd Impetuoſity; they march'd directly to the Enemy, when Force immediately decided the Conteſt.

Rome was therefore engag'd in an eternal, and ever-obſtinate War: Now, a Nation that is always [c] at War, and that too from the very Frame and Eſſence of its Government, muſt neceſſarily be deſtroy'd, or ſubdue all other Nations; for, theſe being ſometimes at War, and at other times in Peace, could never be ſo able to invade others, nor ſo well prepared to defend themſelves.

[c] The *Romans* conſider'd Foreigners as Enemies: *Hoſtis*, according to *Varro de Lingua Lat. lib.* 4. ſignified at firſt a Foreigner who liv'd according to his own Laws.

By this means the *Romans* attain'd a perfect Knowledge in the Military Arts: In tranſient Wars moſt of the Examples are loſt; Peace ſuggeſts different Ideas, and we forget not only our Faults but even Virtues.

Another Conſequence of the Maxim of waging perpetual War, was, that the *Romans* never concluded a Peace but when they were victorious; and indeed, to what Purpoſe would it be to make an ignominious Peace with one Nation, and afterwards go and invade another?

In this View, their Pretenſions roſe always in proportion to their Defeat; by this they ſurpriz'd the Conquerors, and laid themſelves under a greater Neceſſity of conquering.

Being for ever obnoxious to the moſt ſevere Vengeance; Perſeverance and Valour became neceſſary Virtues: And theſe could not be diſtinguiſh'd, among them, from Self-Love, from the Love of one's Family, of one's Country, and of whatever is deareſt among Men.

The ſame had happen'd to *Italy*, which befel *America* in late Ages; the Natives of the former, quite helpleſs and diſpers'd up and down, having reſign'd their Habitations to new Comers, it was afterwards Peopled by three different Nations, the *Tuſcans*,

cans, [d] the *Gauls* and the *Greeks*. The *Gauls* had no Manner of Relation or Affinity either with the *Greeks* or *Tuſcans*; the latter form'd a Society which had its peculiar Language, Cuſtoms and Morals; and the *Grecian* Colonies, who deſcended from different Nations that were often at Variance, had pretty ſeparate Intereſts.

The World in that Age was not like the World in ours: Voyages, Conqueſt, Traffick; the Eſtabliſhment of mighty States; the Invention of Poſt-Offices, of the Sea-Compaſs, and of Printing; theſe, with a certain general Polity, have made Correſpondence much eaſier, and given Riſe, among us, to an Art, call'd by the Name of Politicks: Every Man ſees at one Glance whatever is tranſacting in the whole Univerſe; and if a People diſcover but ever ſo little Ambition, all the Nations round 'em are immediately terrified.

The People of *Italy* had [e] none of thoſe Engines which were employ'd in Sieges: And further, as the Soldiers were not allow'd any Stipend, there was no Poſſibility of keeping them long before a Town or For-

[d] 'Tis not known whether they were originally of that Country, or only a Colony; but *Dion. Halicarnaſſeus* is of the former Opinion. *Lib.* 1.

[e] *D. Halicarnaſſ.* declares ſo expreſsly, *Lib.* 9. and this appears by Hiſtory: They us'd to attempt the Scalado of Cities with Ladders.

treſs: Hence it was, that few of their Wars were deciſive: Theſe fought from no other Motive, but merely to plunder the Enemy's Camp or his Lands; after which both the Conqueror and the Conquered march'd back to their reſpective Cities. This Circumſtance gave Riſe to the ſtrong Reſiſtance which the People of *Italy* made, and at the ſame time to the inflexible Reſolution the *Romans* form'd to ſubdue 'em; this favour'd the latter with Victories which no way deprav'd their Morals, and left them in their original Poverty.

Had the *Romans* made a rapid Conqueſt of the neighbouring Cities, they would have been in a declining Condition at the Arrival of *Pyrrhus*, of the *Gauls* and of *Hannibal*; and by a Fate common to moſt Governments in the World, they would have made too quick a Tranſition from Poverty to Riches, and from Riches to Depravity.

But *Rome*, for ever ſtruggling, and ever meeting with Obſtacles, made other Nations tremble at its Power, and at the ſame time was unable to extend it; and exerciſed in a very narrow Compaſs of Ground, a Train of Virtues that were to prove of the moſt fatal Conſequence to the Univerſe.

All the People of *Italy* were not equally warlike: Thoſe who inhabited the eaſtern Part, as the *Tarentines* and the *Capuans*; all the Cities of *Campania*, and of *Græcia Major*,

jor, were quite immers'd in Indolence and in Pleaſures; but the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, the *Sabines*, the *Æqui* and the *Volſcians* were paſſionately fond of War: Theſe Nations lay round *Rome*; the Reſiſtance they made to that City was incredible, and they ſurpaſs'd them in Stubborneſs and Inflexibility.

The *Latin* Cities ſprung from *Alban* Colonies, which were founded [f] by LATINUS SYLVIUS: Beſides their common Extraction with the *Romans*, there were ſeveral Rites and Ceremonies common to both; and SERVIUS TULLIUS had [g] engag'd them to build a Temple in *Rome*, to ſerve as the Center of Union of the Two Nations. Loſing a Battle near the Lake *Regillus*, they were ſubjected to an Alliance, and forc'd to aſſociate in the [h] Wars which the *Romans* wag'd.

'Twas manifeſtly ſeen, during the ſhort Time that the Tyranny of the Decemvirs laſted, how much the aggrandizing of *Rome* depended on its Liberty. The Government ſeem'd to have loſt the [i] Soul which animated even to the minuteſt Part of it.

[f] As appears from the Treatiſe entitled *Origo Gentis Romanæ*, aſcribed to *Aurelius Victor*.

[g] *D. Halicarnaſſ.*

[h] See in *D. Halicarnaſſ. Lib.* 6. one of the Treaties concluded with this People.

[i] Theſe *Decemviri*, upon Pretence of giving written Laws to the People, ſeiz'd upon the Government. See *D. Halicarnaſſ. Lib.* 11.

There remain'd at that Time but Two Sorts of People in the City, thoſe who ſubmitted to Slavery, and thoſe who, for their own private Intereſt, endeavour'd to enſlave the reſt. The Senators withdrew from *Rome* as from a foreign City; and the neighbouring Nations did not meet with the leaſt Reſiſtance from any Quarter.

The Senate having found Means to give the Soldiers a regular Stipend, the Siege of *Veii* was undertaken, which laſted ten Years. But now a new Art, and a new Syſtem of War, were ſeen to ariſe among the *Romans*; their Succeſſes were more ſignal and conſpicuous; they made a better Advantage of their Victories; their Conqueſts were greater; they ſent out more Colonies; in fine, the taking of *Veii* prov'd a Kind of Revolution.

But all this did not leſſen their Toils: If, on one Side, they attack'd with greater Vigour the *Tuſcans*, the *Æqui*, and the *Volſcians*; for this very Reaſon they were abandon'd by the *Latins* and the *Hernici* their Allies, who were arm'd after the ſame Manner, and obſerv'd the ſame Diſcipline with themſelves; this engag'd the *Tuſcans* to form new Alliances; and prompted the *Samnites*, the moſt martial People of all *Italy*, to involve 'em in a furious War.

The taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls* did no way leſſen its Strength; almoſt the whole Army

Army, which was diſpers'd rather than overcome, withdrew to *Veii*; the People ſhelter'd themſelves in the adjacent Cities; and the Burning of *Rome* was no more than the ſetting fire to a few Cottages of Shepherds.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Science of War as practiſed by the ROMANS.

AS the *Romans* devoted themſelves entirely to War, and conſider'd it as the only Science, they therefore bent all their Thoughts, and the Genius with which they were inform'd, to the Improvement of it: Doubtleſs a God, ſays [a] *Vegetius*, inſpired them with the Idea of the Legion.

They judged that it would be neceſſary to arm the Soldiers who compos'd the Legion with Weapons, whether offenſive or defenſive, of a ſtronger and [b] heavier Kind than thoſe of any other Nation.

But as ſome Things muſt be done in War, which a heavy Body is not able to execute,

[a] L. 2. Cap. 1.

[b] See in *Polybius*, and in *Joſephus*, *de Bello Judaico*, *Lib.* 2. a Deſcription of the Arms of the *Roman* Soldiers. There is but little Difference, ſays the latter, between a *Roman* Soldier and a loaded Horſe.

the *Romans* would have the Legion include within it ſelf a Band of light Forces, which might iſſue from it in order to provoke the Enemy to Battle, or draw back into it in caſe of Neceſſity; they alſo would have this Legion ſtrengthen'd with Cavalry, with Spearmen and Slingers, to purſue thoſe who fled, and complete the Victory; that it ſhould be defended by military Engines of every Kind, which it drew after it; that every Evening this Body ſhould entrench it ſelf, and be, as *Vegetius* [c] obſerves, a kind of Strong-hold.

But that the *Roman* Soldiers might be able to carry heavier Arms than other Men, it was neceſſary they ſhould become more than Men; and this they became by perpetual Labour which increas'd their Vigour, and by Exerciſes that gave them an Activity, which is no more than a juſt Diſtribution of the Strength we are invigorated with.

'Tis obſerv'd in this Age, that the [d] immoderate Labour which Soldiers are oblig'd to undergo, deſtroys our Armies; and yet 'twas by incredible Labour that the *Romans* preſerv'd themſelves. The Reaſon I take to be this; Their Toils were continual and uninterrupted, whereas our Soldiers are ever ſhifting from the Extremes of Labour

[c] Lib. 2. Cap. 25.
[d] Particularly the throwing up of the Ground.

to

to the Extremes of Idleneſs, than which nothing can poſſibly be more deſtructive.

I muſt here take notice of what Authors [e] relate concerning the training up of the *Roman* Soldiery. They were inur'd to the military Pace, that is, to walk twenty Miles, and ſometimes four and twenty, in five Hours. During theſe Marches, they carried Burthens of threeſcore Pound Weight; they habituated themſelves to running and leaping, arm'd Cap-a-pee; in their [f] Exerciſes they made uſe of Swords, Javelins and Arrows, double the Weight of common Weapons; and theſe Exerciſes were carried on without Intermiſſion.

The Camp was not the only military School; there being, in *Rome*, a Place in which the Citizens us'd to perform Exerciſes ('twas the *Campus Martius*): After their Fatigues [g] they plung'd into the *Tyber*, to accuſtom themſelves to ſwimming, and cleanſe away the Duſt and Sweat.

[e] See in *Vegetius Lib.* I. and in *Livy, Lib.* XXVI. the Exerciſes which *Scipio Africanus* made the Soldiers perform after the taking of *Carthago Nova*. *Marius* us'd to go every Day to the *Campus Martius*, even in his extreme old Age. 'Twas cuſtomary for *Pompey*, when 58 Years of Age, to arm himſelf Cap-a-pee, and engage in ſingle Combat with the *Roman* Youths He us'd to exerciſe himſelf in Riding, when he would run with the ſwifteſt Career, and hurl the Javelin. *Plutarch* in the Lives of *Marius* and *Pompey*.

[f] *Vegetius Lib.* I. [g] *Idem ibid.*

Whenever

Whenever the *Romans* thought themſelves expos'd to any Danger, or were deſirous of repairing ſome Loſs, 'twas a conſtant Practice among 'em to invigorate and give new Life to their military Diſcipline. Are they engag'd in a War with the *Latines*, a People no leſs martial than themſelves? MANLIUS reflects upon the beſt Methods of ſtrengthning the Command in the Field, and puts to Death his own Son, for conquering without his Orders. Are they defeated before *Numantia?* SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS immediately removes the ſeveral Blandiſhments, which had enervated them. Have the *Roman* Legions paſt under the Yoke at *Numidia?* METELLUS wipes away their Ignominy, the Inſtant he has oblig'd 'em to reſume their ancient Inſtitutions. MARIUS, that he may be enabled to vanquiſh the *Cimbri* and the *Teutones*, begins by diverting the Courſe of [h] Rivers; and SYLLA employs in ſuch hard Labour, his Soldiers, who were terrified at the War which was carrying againſt *Mithridates*, that they ſue for Battle, to put an End to their Hardſhips.

PUBLIUS NASICA made the *Romans* build a Fleet of Ships, at a Time when they had no Occaſion for ſuch a Force: Theſe People dreaded Idleneſs more than an Enemy.

[h] *Frontin. Stratagem. Lib.* I. *Cap.* 11.

In

In the Battles fought in our Age, every ſingle Soldier has very little Security and Confidence except in the Multitude; but among the *Romans*, every Individual, more robuſt and of greater Experience in War, as well as more inur'd to the Fatigues of it, than his Enemy, relied upon himſelf only. He was naturally endued with Courage, or in other Words, with that Virtue which a Senſibility of our own Strength inſpires.

Theſe Men thus inur'd were generally healthy and vigorous: We don't find by Hiſtorians, that the *Roman* Armies, which wag'd War in ſo great a Variety of Climates, fell often a Prey to Diſeaſes; whereas in the preſent Age we daily ſee Armies, without once engaging, periſh and melt away, if I may uſe the Expreſſion, in a ſingle Campaign.

Deſertions are very frequent among us for this Reaſon, becauſe the Soldiers are the Dregs of every Nation, and not one of them poſſeſſes, or thinks himſelf poſſeſs'd of, a certain Advantage which gives him a Superiority over his Comrades. But among the *Romans* they were leſs frequent; it being ſcarce poſſible that Soldiers, rais'd from among a People naturally ſo haughty and imperious, and ſo ſure of commanding over others, ſhould demean themſelves to ſuch a Degree, as to ceaſe to be *Romans*.

As their Armies were not great, they were eaſily ſubſiſted: The Commander had a better Opportunity of knowing the ſeveral Individuals; and could more eaſily perceive the various Faults and Miſdemeanours committed by the Soldiery.

As no Troops in the World were, in any Age, ſo well diſciplin'd, 'twas hardly poſſible that in a Battle, how unfortunate ſoever, but ſome *Romans* muſt rally in one part or other of it; or on the other Side, but that the Enemy muſt be defeated in ſome part of the Field: And, indeed, we find every where in Hiſtory, that whenever the *Romans* happen'd to be overpower'd at the Beginning, either by Numbers, or the Fierceneſs of the Onſet, they at laſt wreſted the Lawrel out of the Enemy's Hand.

Their chief Care was to examine, in what Particular their Enemies had an Advantage over them, and when this was found, they immediately rectified it. The cutting Swords [i] of the *Gauls*, and the Elephants of *Pyrrhus* intimidated them but once. They ſtrengthen'd their Cavalry, [k] firſt, by taking the Bridles from the Horſes; that their Impe-

[i] The *Romans* us'd to preſent their Javelins, when the *Gauls* ſtruck at them with their Swords, and by that means blunted them.

[k] At the Time that they warr'd againſt the leſſer Nations of *Italy*, their Horſe was ſuperior to that of their Enemies, and for this Reaſon, the Cavalry were com-

tuoſity

tuoſity might be boundleſs, and afterwards by intermixing them with *Velites* [l]: They baffled all the Art of the moſt experienc'd Pilots, by the Invention of an Engine which is deſcrib'd by *Polybius*. In fine, as *Joſephus* obſerves [m], War was a Subject of Meditation to the *Romans*, and Peace an Exerciſe.

If any Nation boaſted, either from Nature or its Inſtitution, any peculiar Advantage, the *Romans* immediately made uſe of it: They employ'd their utmoſt Endeavours to procure Horſes from *Numidia*, Bowmen from *Crete*, Slingers from the *Baleares*, and Ships from the *Rhodians*.

To conclude, no Nation in the World ever prepar'd for War with ſo much Wiſdom, and carried it on with ſo much Intrepidity.

poſ'd of none but the ableſt bodied Men, and the moſt conſiderable among the Citizens, each of whom had a Horſe maintain'd at the publick Expence. When they alighted, no Infantry was more formidable, and they very often turn'd the Scale of Victory.

[l] Theſe were young Men lightly arm'd, and the moſt nimble of all the Legion. At the leaſt Signal that was given, they wou'd either leap behind a Horſeman, or fight on Foot. *Valerius Maximus, Lib.* II. *Livy, Lib.* XXVI.

[m] *De Bello Judaico, Lib.* II.

CHAP-

CHAPTER III.

The Methods by which the ROMANS *rais'd themſelves to Empire.*

AS the People of *Europe*, in this Age, have very near the ſame Arts, the ſame Arms, the ſame Diſcipline, and the ſame Manner of making War; the prodigious Fortune to which the *Romans* attain'd, ſeems incredible to us. Beſides, Power is at this time divided ſo diſproportionably, that 'tis not poſſible for a petty State to raiſe it ſelf, merely by its own Strength, from the low Condition in which Providence has plac'd it.

This merits ſome Reflections, otherwiſe we might behold ſeveral Events without being able to account for them; and for want of having a perfect Idea of the different Situation of Things, we ſhould believe, in peruſing antient Hiſtory, that we view a Sett of Men different from our ſelves.

Experience has ſhewn perpetually, that an *European* Prince who has a Million of Subjects, cannot, without deſtroying himſelf, keep up and maintain above Ten thouſand Soldiers; conſequently, great Nations only are poſſeſs'd of Armies.

But the Caſe was different antiently with regard to Commonwealths: For this Proportion

portion between the Soldiers and the reſt of the People, which is now as One to an Hundred, might, in thoſe Times, be, pretty near, as One is to Eight.

The Founders of ancient Commonwealths had made an equal Diſtribution of the Lands: This Circumſtance alone rais'd a Nation to Power; that is to ſay, made it a well-regulated Society: This alſo gave Strength to its Armies; it being equally the Intereſt (and this too was very great) of every Individual, to exert himſelf in Defence of his Country.

When Laws were not executed in their full Rigour, Affairs return'd back to the ſame Point in which we now ſee 'em: The Avarice of ſome particular Perſons, and the laviſh Profuſeneſs of others, occaſion'd the Lands to become the Property of a Few; immediately Arts were introduc'd to ſupply the reciprocal Wants of the Rich and Poor; by which Means there were but very few Soldiers or Citizens ſeen; for the Revenues of the Lands that had before been employ'd to ſupport the latter, were now beſtow'd wholly on Slaves and Artificers, who adminiſtred to the Luxury of the new Proprietors; for otherwiſe the Government, which, how licentious ſoever it be, muſt exiſt, would have been deſtroy'd: And 'twas impoſſible that People of this Caſt ſhould be good Soldiers, they being cowardly and abject; already

ready corrupted by the Luxury of Cities, and often by the very Art they profeſs'd; not to mention, that as they could not properly call any Country their own, and reap'd the Fruits of their Induſtry in every Clime, they had very little either to loſe or keep.

[a] *Agis* and *Cleomenes* obſerving, that inſtead of Thirty thouſand Citizens, (for ſo many were at *Sparta* in *Lycurgus*'s Time) there were but Seven hundred, ſcarce a hundred of whom were poſſeſs'd of Lands; and that all the reſt were no more than a cowardly Populace; they undertook to revive the Laws enacted on this Occaſion; and from that Period *Lacedæmonia* recover'd its former Power, and again became formidable to all the *Greeks*.

'Twas the equal Diſtribution of Lands that at firſt enabled *Rome* to ſoar above its humble Condition; and this the *Romans* were ſtrongly ſenſible of in their corrupted State.

This Commonwealth was confin'd to narrow Bounds, when the *Latins*, having refus'd to ſuccour them with the Troops which had been [b] ſtipulated, Ten Legions were preſently rais'd in the City only: Scarce at this time, ſays *Livy*, *Rome*, whom the whole Univerſe is not able to contain, could levy ſuch a

[a] See *Plutarch*'s *Life* of *Cleomenes*.

[b] *Livy* 1 *Decad. L.* VII. This was ſome time after the taking of *Rome*, under the Conſulſhip of *L. Furius Camillus*, and *App. Claudius Craſſus*.

Force,

Force, were an Enemy to appear ſuddenly under its Walls; a ſure Indication that we have not roſe in Power, and have only increas'd the Luxury and Wealth which incommode us.

Tell me, would TIBERIUS GRACCHUS ſay [c] to the Nobles, which is the moſt valuable Character, that of a Citizen or of a perpetual Slave? Who is moſt uſeful, a Soldier, or a Man entirely unfit for War? Will you, merely for the ſake of enjoying a few more Acres of Land than the reſt of the Citizens, quite lay aſide the Hopes of conquering the reſt of the World, or be expos'd to ſee your ſelves diſpoſſeſs'd by the Enemy of thoſe very Lands which you refuſe us?

CHAPTER IV.

1. *Of the* Gauls. 2. *Of* Pyrrhus. 3. *Parallel between* Carthage *and* Rome. 4. *The War of* Hannibal.

THE *Romans* were engag'd in ſeveral Wars againſt the *Gauls:* A Thirſt of Glory, a Contempt of Death, and an inflexible Reſolution of Conquering, were equal in both Nations, but the Weapons they us'd were different; the Bucklers of

[c] *Appian.*

the

the latter were ſmall, and their Swords unfit for Execution; and indeed, the *Gauls* were cut to Pieces by the *Romans*, much after the ſame Manner as the *Mexicans*, in theſe latter Ages, by the *Spaniards*; and a ſurpriing Circumſtance is, that tho' theſe People were combatting perpetually with the *Romans*, they yet ſuffer'd themſelves to be deſtroy'd one after another, without their ever being ſenſible of, enquiring after, or obviating the Cauſe of their Calamities.

PYRRHUS invaded the *Romans* at a time when they were ſtrong enough to oppoſe the Power of his Arms, and to be taught by the Victories he obtain'd over 'em: From him they learnt to intrench themſelves, as alſo the Choice and proper Diſpoſition of a Camp: He accuſtom'd them to Elephants, and prepar'd 'em for mightier Wars.

The Grandeur of *Pyrrhus* was confin'd merely to his perſonal Qualities. *Plutarch* [a] informs us, that he was oblig'd to begin the War of *Macedonia*, from his Inability to maintain any longer the Six thouſand Foot, and Five hundred Horſe in his Service. This Prince, Sovereign of a ſmall Country which has never made the leaſt Figure ſince his Time, was a military Rambler, who was continually forming new Enterpriſes, becauſe he could not ſubſiſt but by Enterprizing.

[a] In his *Life* of *Pyrrhus*.

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As the CARTHAGINIANS grew wealthy ſooner than the *Romans*, ſo they were ſooner corrupted: Thus whilſt at *Rome*, public Employments were made the Reward of Virtue only, and no other Emolument accrued from them than Honour, and a Preference in Toils; at *Carthage*, the ſeveral Advantages which the Public can beſtow on particular Perſons were venal, and every Service done by ſuch Perſons was there paid by the Public.

A Monarchy is not dragg'd nearer to the Brink of Ruin, by the Tyranny of a Prince, than a Commonwealth, by a Lukewarmneſs and Indifference for the general Good. The Advantage of a free State is, to have its Revenues employ'd to better Purpoſes, but where the Reverſe of this happens! The Advantage of a free State is, to be free from Favourites; but when the contrary is ſeen! and that inſtead of the Friends and Relations of a Prince, great Fortunes muſt be amaſs'd for the Friends and Relations of all Perſons who have any Share in the Government; in this Caſe an univerſal Ruin muſt enſue; the Laws are then eluded more dangerouſly, than they are infring'd by a Sovereign Prince, who being always the greateſt Citizen in the State, is moſt concern'd to labour at its Preſervation.

By the conſtant Practice of ancient Cuſtoms and Manners, and a peculiar Uſe that

was made of Poverty, the Fortunes of all the People in *Rome* were very near upon a Level; but in *Carthage*, ſome particular Perſons boaſted the Wealth of Kings.

The two prevailing Factions in *Carthage* were ſo divided, that the one was always for Peace, and the other always for War; by which Means it was impoſſible for that City, either to enjoy the one, or engage in the other to Advantage.

In *Rome*, [b] War immediately united the ſeveral Intereſts, but in *Carthage* it divided them ſtill more.

In a Monarchy, Feuds and Diviſions are eaſily quieted, becauſe the Prince is inveſted with a coercive Power to curb both Parties; but they are more laſting in a Commonwealth, becauſe the Evil generally ſeizes the very Power which only could have wrought a Cure.

In *Rome*, which was govern'd by Laws, the People entruſted the Senate with the Management of Affairs; but in *Carthage*,

[b] *Hannibal*'s Preſence put an End to all the Feuds and Diviſions which till then prevail'd among the *Romans*; but the Preſence of *Scipio* irritated thoſe which already ſubſiſted among the *Carthaginians*, and ſhackled, as it were, the Strength of the City; for the common People now grew diffident of the Generals, the Senate, and the Great Men, and this made the People more furious. *Appian* has given us the Hiſtory of this War, carried on by the Firſt *Scipio*.

which

which was govern'd by Fraud and Diſſoluteneſs, the People would themſelves tranſact all things.

Carthage, in warring with all its Riches againſt the Poverty of *Rome*, had a Diſadvantage in this very Circumſtance; for Gold and Silver may be exhauſted, but Virtue, Perſeverance, Strength and Poverty are inexhauſtible.

The *Romans* were ambitious thro' Pride, and the *Carthaginians* thro' Avarice; the former would command, the latter amaſs; and theſe, whoſe Minds were wholly turn'd to Traffick, perpetually caſting up their Income and Expences, never engag'd in any War from Inclination.

The Loſs of Battles, the Decreaſe of a People, the Decay of Trade, the Conſumption of the publick Treaſure, the Inſurrection of neighbouring Nations, might force the *Carthaginians* to ſubmit to the ſevereſt Terms of Peace: But *Rome* was not ſway'd by the Conſideration of Bleſſings or Calamities, being determin'd by no other Motive but its Glory; and as the *Romans* were perſuaded they could not exiſt without commanding over others, neither Hopes or Fears of any kind, could prevail with them to conclude a Peace, the Conditions of which were not drawn up by themſelves.

Nothing is ſo powerful as a Commonwealth in which the Laws are exactly obſerv'd,

ſerv'd, and this not from Fear nor from Reaſon, but from a paſſionate Impulſe, as in *Rome* and *Lacedæmonia*; for then the Wiſdom of a good Legiſlature is united to all the Strength a Faction could poſſibly boaſt.

The *Carthaginians* made uſe of foreign Forces, and the *Romans* employ'd none but their own. As the latter had never conſider'd the Vanquiſhed but merely as ſo many Inſtruments for future Triumphs; they made Soldiers of the ſeveral People they conquer'd; and the greater Oppoſition thoſe made, the more worthy they judg'd 'em of being incorporated into their Republic. Thus we find the *Samnites*, who were not ſubdu'd till after Four and twenty Triumphs [b], become Auxiliaries to the *Romans*; and ſome time before the ſecond *Punic* War, they rais'd from among that Nation and their Allies [c], that is, from a Country of little more Extent than the Territories of the Pope and *Naples*, Seven hundred thouſand Foot, and Seventy thouſand Horſe, to oppoſe the *Gauls*.

In the Height of the ſecond *Punic* War, *Rome* had always a ſtanding Army of Twen-

[b] Flor. l. 1.

[c] See *Polybius*. According to the Epitome of *Florus* they raiſed Three hundred thouſand Men out of the City and among the *Latins*.

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ty two or Twenty four Legions; and yet it appears by *Livy*, that at this time the Cenſus, or general Survey, amounted to but about 137000 Citizens.

The *Carthaginians* employ'd a greater Number of Troops in invading others, and the *Romans* in defending themſelves; the latter arm'd, as was juſt now ſeen, a prodigious Multitude of Men to oppoſe the *Gauls* and *Hannibal* who invaded them; and they ſent out no more than two Legions againſt the moſt powerful Kings; by this Means their Strength was eternal.

Carthage was not ſo ſtrong from its Situation, as *Rome* from the Spot on which it ſtood: The latter had Thirty Colonies[d] round it, all which were as ſo many Bulwarks. The *Romans* were never abandoned by one of their Allies till the Battle of *Cannæ*; and for this Reaſon, the *Samnites* and other Nations of *Italy* were us'd to their Sovereignty.

As moſt of the Cities of *Africa* were poorly fortified, they preſently ſurrendred to the firſt Enemy that appear'd under their Walls; and indeed *Agathocles*, *Regulus*, *Scipio*, in a word, all who made a Deſcent on thoſe Places, immediately ſpread Deſtruction thro' all *Carthage*.

[d] See *Livy*, *Lib.* 27.

We can ſcarce aſcribe but to an evil Adminiſtration, the ſeveral Calamities which the *Carthaginians* ſuffer'd during the War that *Scipio* carried on againſt them; their City [e], and even their Armies were famiſhed, at the ſame time that the *Romans* enjoy'd a Profuſion of all things.

Among the *Carthaginians*, the Armies which had been defeated grew more inſolent upon it, inſomuch that they ſometimes us'd to crucify their Generals, puniſhing them in this Manner for their own Cowardice. Among the *Romans*, the Conſul, after puniſhing ſuch Soldiers as had fled from their Colours, by a [f] Decimation, march'd the ſurviving Forces againſt the Enemy.

The Government of the *Carthaginians* was vaſtly oppreſſive [g]: They had trampled ſo much upon the *Spaniards*, that when the *Romans* arriv'd among them, they were conſider'd as their Deliverers; and if we reflect upon the immenſe Sums it coſt them to maintain, in that Country, a War which prov'd

[e] See *Appian, Lib. Libycus.*

[f] This Puniſhment, which was inflicted on thoſe who had run from their Colours, on Mutineers, *&c.* was thus: The Names of all the Criminals being put together in a Veſſel or Shield, were afterwards drawn out, every Tenth Man being to die without Reprieve. By this Means, tho' all were not put to Death, yet all were terrified into Obedience. *Note by the Tranſlator.*

[g] See what is related by *Polybius* concerning their Exactions.

fatal

fatal to 'em, 'twill appear that Injuſtice is very improvident, and does not fulfil all her Promiſes

The founding of *Alexandria* had very much leſſen'd the Trade of *Carthage*. In the firſt Ages, Superſtition us'd to baniſh, in ſome meaſure, all Foreigners from *Egypt*; and after the *Perſians* had conquer'd this Kingdom, they had bent their whole Thoughts to the weakning of their new Subjects; but under the *Grecian* Monarchs, *Egypt* poſſeſs'd almoſt the whole Commerce of the Univerſe, and that of *Carthage* began to decay.

Such Powers as are eſtabliſh'd by Commerce, may ſubſiſt for a long Series of Years in their humble Condition, but their Grandeur is of ſhort Duration; they riſe by little and little, and in an imperceptible Manner, for they don't perform any particular Exploit which may make a Noiſe, and ſignalize their Power: But when they have once rais'd themſelves to ſo exalted a Pitch, that 'tis impoſſible but all muſt ſee 'em, every one endeavours to deprive this Nation of an Advantage which it had ſnatch'd, as it were, from the reſt of the World.

The *Carthaginian* Cavalry was preferable to that of the *Romans*, for theſe two Reaſons; Firſt, becauſe the Horſes of *Numidia* and *Spain* were better than thoſe of *Italy*; Secondly, becauſe the *Roman* Cavalry was

but indifferently provided with Arms; for the *Romans*, as [g] *Polybius* informs us, did not introduce any Change on this Occaſion, till ſuch time as they fought in *Greece*.

In the firſt *Punic* War, *Regulus* was defeated aſſoon as the *Carthaginians* made Choice of Plains for their Cavalry to engage in; and in the ſecond, [h] *Hannibal* ow'd his moſt glorious Victories to the *Numidians*.

Scipio, by the Conqueſt of *Spain* and the Alliance he made with *Maſſaniſſa*, depriv'd the *Carthaginians* of this Superiority: The *Numidian* Cavalry won the Battle of *Zama*, and put an End to the War.

The *Carthaginians* had greater Experience at Sea, and were better ſkill'd in the working of Ships than the *Romans*: But this Advantage ſeems to have been leſs in thoſe Ages than it would be in the preſent.

As the Ancients had not the Uſe of the Sea-Compaſs, they were confin'd almoſt to Coaſting; and indeed they had nothing but Gallies, which were ſmall and flat-bottom'd; moſt Roads were to them as ſo many Harbours; the Knowledge of their Pilots was

[g] Book VI.

[h] The Circumſtance which gave the *Romans* an Opportunity of taking a little Breath in the ſecond *Punic* War, was this, Whole Bodies of *Numidian* Cavalry went over into *Sicily* and *Italy*, and there join'd them.

very

very narrow and contracted, and they had but very little Tackling. Their Art it ſelf was ſo imperfect, that as much is now done with an hundred Oars, as in thoſe Ages with a thouſand.

Their larger Veſſels had a Diſadvantage in this, that being mov'd with Difficulty by the Crew of Galley-Slaves, it was impoſſible for 'em to make the neceſſary Evolutions. *Mark Anthony* experienc'd this, in the moſt fatal Manner, at *Actium*; for his Ships were not able to move about, when attack'd on all Sides by the lighter Veſſels of *Auguſtus*.

As the Antients us'd nothing but Galleons, the lighter Veſſels eaſily broke the Oars of the greater ones, which were then but as ſo many unwieldy, immoveable Machines, like modern Ships when they have loſt their Maſts.

Since the Invention of the Sea-Compaſs, different Methods have been employ'd; Oars have been laid aſide; the main Ocean has been [i] viſited, great Ships have been built; the Machine is become more complicated, and the Practices have been multiplied.

[i] Hence we may judge of the Imperfection of the antient Navies, ſince we have laid aſide a Practice in which we had ſo much Superiority over them.

The Diſcovery of Gun-Powder has occaſion'd a Circumſtance one would no ways have ſuſpected, which is, that the Strength of Fleets depends more than ever upon Art; for in order to reſiſt the Fury of the Cannon, and prevent the being expos'd to a ſuperior Fire, it was neceſſary to build great Ships; but the Power of the Art muſt have been proportion'd to the Bulk of the Machine.

The ſmall Veſſels of the Antients us'd often to grapple ſuddenly with one another, on which Occaſion the Soldiers engag'd on both Sides: A whole Land-Army was ſhipped on board a Fleet. In the Sea-Fight won by *Regulus* and his Collegue, an hundred and thirty thouſand *Romans* fought againſt an hundred and fifty thouſand *Carthaginians:* At that time Soldiers were look'd upon as conſiderable, and Artiſts the very reverſe; but in theſe Ages, the Soldiers are conſider'd as little or nothing, and Artiſts the very contrary.

A ſtrong Proof of the Difference is, the Victory won by *Duillius* the Conſul: The *Romans* were totally ignorant of Navigation, when a *Carthaginian* Galley happening to be ſtranded on their Coaſt, ſerv'd them as a Model for the building of others: In three Months time their Sailors were train'd, their Fleet was completely fitted out; the

Romans,

Romans put to Sea, came up with the *Carthaginians*, and defeated them.

In this Age, the whole Life of a Prince would ſcarce ſuffice for the founding and equipping of a Navy capable to make Head againſt a Power who is already poſſeſs'd of the Empire of the Sea: This perhaps may be the only thing which Money alone cannot effect; and tho' a great [k] Monarch in our Days ſucceeded immediately in an Attempt of this Kind, Experience has prov'd to others, that ſuch an [l] Example is to be admired rather than imitated.

The ſecond *Punic* War made ſo much Noiſe in the World, that 'tis known to every one: When we ſurvey attentively the Croud of Obſtacles which ſtarted up before HANNIBAL, and reflect, that this extraordinary Man ſurmounted 'em all, we view the moſt auguſt Spectacle that Antiquity can poſſibly exhibit.

Rome was a Miracle in Conſtancy and Reſolution after the Battles of *Ticinus*, of *Trebia*, and *Thraſymene*; after the Defeat at *Cannæ*, which was ſtill more fatal to them; tho' they ſaw themſelves abandon'd by moſt of the Nations in *Italy*, they yet would not ſue for Peace; and for this Reaſon, the Senate never once receded from their antient Maxims: They conducted themſelves to-

[k] *Lewis* XIV.

[l] *Spain* and *Muſcovy*.

wards *Hannibal*, in the ſame Manner as they had before behav'd with regard to *Pyrrhus*, to whom they refus'd all Terms of Accommodation, till ſuch time as he ſhould leave *Italy*; and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* [m] informs us, that when *Coriolanus* was treating with the *Romans*, the Senate declar'd they would never infringe their antient Cuſtoms; that their People could not conclude a Peace ſo long as the Enemy ſhould continue in their Territories; but that in caſe the *Volſcians* would think fit to retire, they then ſhould agree to any Terms that were juſt and reaſonable.

Rome was ſav'd by the Strength and Vigour of its Inſtitution; after the Battle of *Cannæ*, their very Women were not allow'd to ſhed Tears; the Senate refus'd to ranſom the Priſoners, and ſent the miſerable Remains of the Army to carry on the War in *Sicily*, unrecompens'd, and depriv'd of every military Honour, till ſuch time as *Hannibal* was drove out of *Italy*.

On the other ſide, *Terentius Varro* the Conſul had fled ignominiouſly as far as *Venuſia*: This Man, whoſe Extraction was very mean, had been rais'd to the Conſulſhip merely to mortify the Nobles. However the Senate would not enjoy the unhappy Triumph: They ſaw how neceſſary it was

[m] *Antiq. Rom.* L. VIII.

for

for them to gain the Confidence of the People on this Occaſion; they therefore went out to meet *Varro*, and return'd him Thanks for not deſpairing of the Safety of the Commonwealth.

'Tis commonly not the real Loſs ſuſtained in a Battle, (that of the Slaughter of ſome thouſand Men) which proves fatal to a State, but the imaginary Loſs, the general Damp, which deprives it even of that Strength and Vigour which Fortune had left it.

Some things are aſſerted by all Men, becauſe they have been aſſerted once: 'Tis thought *Hannibal* committed an egregious Error, in not laying Siege to *Rome* after the Battle of *Cannæ*: It muſt be confeſs'd, that the Inhabitants of the former were at firſt ſeiz'd with a *Pannic*; but then the Surprize and Dread of a martial People, which always turns to Bravery, is not like that of a deſpicable Populace, who are ſenſible to nothing but their Weakneſs: A Proof *Hannibal* would not have ſucceeded, is, that the *Romans* were ſtill powerful enough to ſend Succours where any were wanted.

'Tis alſo ſaid, that *Hannibal* was greatly overſeen, in marching his Army to *Capua*, where his Soldiers enervated themſelves; but People who make theſe Aſſertions ſhould conſider, that they don't go back to the true Cauſe of it: Would not every Place

have

have prov'd a *Capua* to a Body of Men, who had enrich'd themſelves with the Spoils of ſo many Victories? *Alexander*, whoſe Army conſiſted of his own Subjects, made uſe, on a like Occaſion, of an Expedient which *Hannibal*, whoſe Army was compos'd wholly of Mercenaries, could not employ; and this was, the ſetting Fire to the Baggage of his Soldiers, and burning all their Wealth and his own.

The very Conqueſts of *Hannibal* began to change the Fortune of the War: He did not receive any Succours from *Carthage*, either by the Jealouſy of one Party, or the too great Confidence of the other: So long as he kept his whole Army together, he always defeated the *Romans*; but when he was oblig'd to put Garriſons into Cities, to defend his Allies, to beſiege Strong-Holds or prevent their being beſieged, he then found himſelf too weak, and loſt a great part of his Army by piece-meal: Conqueſts are eaſily made, becauſe we atchieve 'em with our whole Force; they are retain'd with Difficulty, becauſe we defend 'em with only a part of our Forces.

CHAP.

CHAPTER V.

The State of Greece, *of* Macedonia, *of* Syria *and of* Egypt, *after the Depreſſion of* Carthage.

AS the *Carthaginians* loſt every Battle they fought, either in *Spain*, in *Sicily*, or in *Sardinia*; *Hannibal*, whoſe Enemies were fortifying themſelves inceſſantly, whilſt very inconſiderable Reinforcements were ſent himſelf, was reduc'd to the Neceſſity of engaging in a defenſive War: This ſuggeſted to the *Romans* the Deſign of making *Africa* the Seat of War: Accordingly *Scipio* went into that Part of the World, and ſo great was his Succeſs, that the *Carthaginians* were forc'd to recall from *Italy*, *Hannibal*, who wept for Grief at his ſurrendring to the *Romans* thoſe very Plains, in which he had ſo often triumph'd over them.

Whatever is in the Power of a great General and a great Soldier to perform, all this *Hannibal* did to ſave his Country: Having fruitleſsly endeavour'd to bring *Scipio* to pacific Terms, he fought a Battle, in which Fortune ſeem'd to delight in confounding his Ability, his Experience and good Senſe.

Carthage receiv'd the Conditions of Peace, not from an Enemy, but from a Sovereign; the

the Citizens of it oblig'd themſelves to pay Ten thouſand Talents in Fifty Years, to give Hoſtages, to deliver up their Ships and Elephants, and not to engage in any War without the Conſent of the *Romans*; and in order that this Republic might always continue in a dejected State, the Victors heightned the Power of *Maſſiniſſa*, its irreconcilable Enemy.

After the Depreſſion of *Carthage*, the *Romans* were ſcarce engag'd but in petty Wars and obtain'd mighty Victories, whereas before, they had obtain'd but petty Victories and been engag'd in mighty Wars.

There were in thoſe Times two Worlds, as it were, ſeparate from each other; in One, the *Carthaginians* and *Romans* fought, and the other was ſhaken by the Feuds and Diviſions which had ſubſiſted ever ſince the Death of *Alexander:* In the latter, no Regard was had [n] to the Tranſactions of the Weſtern World: For tho' *Philip* King of *Macedon* had concluded a Treaty with *Hannibal*, yet very little reſulted from it; and this Monarch, who gave the *Carthaginians* but very inconſiderable Succours, juſt ſhew'd the *Romans* that he bore them a fruitleſs Ill-Will.

[n] 'Tis ſurprizing, as *Joſephus* obſerves in his Treatiſe againſt *Appion*, that neither *Herodotus* nor *Thucydides* make the leaſt Mention of the *Romans*, tho' they had been engag'd in ſuch mighty Wars.

When

When two mighty People are ſeen to wage a long and obſtinate War, 'tis often ill Policy to imagine that 'tis ſafe for the reſt of the World to continue as ſo many idle Spectators; for which ſoever of the two People triumphs over the other, engages immediately in new Wars; and a Nation of Soldiers marches and invades Nations who are but ſo many Citizens.

This was very manifeſt in thoſe Ages; for ſcarce had the *Romans* ſubjected the *Carthaginians*, but they immediately invaded other Nations, and appear'd in all Parts of the Earth, carrying on an univerſal Invaſion.

There were at that time in the Eaſt, but four Powers capable of making Head againſt the *Romans*; *Greece*, the Kingdoms of *Macedonia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*: We muſt take a View of the Condition, at that time, of the two firſt of thoſe Powers; becauſe the *Romans* began by ſubjecting them.

There were at that time three conſiderable People in *Greece*, the *Ætolians*, the *Achaians*, and the *Bœotians*; theſe were ſo many Aſſociations form'd by free Cities, which had their general Aſſemblies and Magiſtrates in common. The *Ætolians* were martial, bold, raſh; greedy of Gain, very laviſh of their Promiſes and Oaths; in fine, a People who warr'd on Land in the ſame Manner as Pirates do at Sea. The *Achaians* were

were incommoded perpetually by troubleſome Neighbours or Defenders. The *Bœotians*, who were the moſt heavy People of all *Greece*, but at the ſame time the wiſeſt, liv'd generally in Peace; guided entirely by a Senſation of Happineſs and Miſery, they had not Genius enough to be either rouz'd or miſguided by Orators.

Lacedæmonia had preſerv'd its Power, whereby I mean that warlike Spirit which the Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus* inſpir'd. The *Theſſalians* were, in ſome meaſure, enſlav'd by the *Macedonians*. The *Illyrian* Kings had already been very much depreſs'd by the *Romans*. The *Acarnanians* and *Athamanes* had been cruelly infeſted by the Troops of *Macedon* and *Ætolia* ſucceſſively. The *Athenians*, weak in themſelves and unſupported by ° Allies, no longer aſtoniſh'd the World, except by the Flatteries they laviſh'd on Kings; and the Orators no more aſcended the *Roſtra* where *Demoſthenes* had harangued, unleſs to propoſe the baſeſt and moſt ſcandalous Decrees.

Beſides, *Greece* was formidable from its Situation, its Strength, the Multitude of its Cities, the great Numbers of its Soldiers, its Polity, Manners and Laws; the *Greeks* delighted in War; they knew the

° They were not engag'd in any Alliance with the other Nations of *Greece*. *Polyb. Lib.* VIII.

whole

whole Art of it; and, had they united, would have been invincible.

They indeed had been terrified by the Firſt *Philip*, by *Alexander* and by *Antipater*, but not ſubdued; and the Kings of *Macedon*, who could not prevail with themſelves to lay aſide their Pretenſions and their Hopes, made the moſt obſtinate Attempts to enſlave them.

The greateſt part of *Macedonia* was ſurrounded with inacceſſible Mountains; the Inhabitants of it were form'd by Nature for War, courageous, obedient, induſtrious and indefatigable; and theſe Qualities muſt neceſſarily have been owing to the Climate, ſince the Natives of it are, to this Day, the beſt Soldiers in the *Turkiſh* Empire.

Greece maintain'd it ſelf by a kind of Balance: The *Lacedæmonians* were generally in Alliance with the *Ætolians*, and the *Macedonians* with the *Achaians*; but the Arrival of the *Romans* quite deſtroy'd the Æquilibrium.

As the Kings of *Macedonia* were not able to maintain a large Body of Troops, the leaſt Loſs was of Conſequence to them; beſides, 'twas difficult for theſe Monarchs to aggrandize themſelves; becauſe, as their ambitious Views were not unknown, other Nations kept a watchful Eye over every Step they took; and the Succeſſes they obtain'd in the Wars undertaken for the ſake

of

of their Allies, was an Evil which these very Allies endeavour'd immediately to remedy.

But the Kings of *Macedonia* generally poſſeſs'd great Talents; their Monarchy was not like thoſe which proceed for ever in the ſame Steps that were taken at the Foundation of them; inſtructed perpetually by Dangers and by Affairs, involv'd in all the Diſputes of *Greece*, it was neceſſary for 'em either to bribe the principal Magiſtrates of Cities, to raiſe a Miſt before the Eyes of Nations, or to divide or unite their Intereſts; in a word, they were oblig'd to expoſe, every Moment, their Perſons to the greateſt Dangers.

Philip, who in the Beginning of his Reign had won the Love and Confidence of the *Greeks* by his Moderation, chang'd on a ſudden; he became [p] a cruel Tyrant, at a Time when he ought to have behav'd with Juſtice, both from Policy and Ambition: He ſaw, tho' at a Diſtance, the *Romans* poſſeſs'd of numberleſs Forces; he had concluded the War to the Advantage of his Allies, and was reconcil'd to the *Ætolians*: 'Twas natural he ſhould now endeavour to unite all the *Greeks* with himſelf, in order to prevent the *Romans* from ſetling in their Country; but ſo far from this, he exaſpe-

[p] See *Polyb.* who relates the unjuſt and cruel Actions by which *Philip* loſt the Favour of the People.

rated

rated them by petty Uſurpations; and trifled away his Time in examining Affairs of little or no Conſequence, at a Time when his very Exiſtence was endanger'd; by the commiſſion of three or four evil Actions, he made himſelf odious and deteſtable to all *Greece*.

The *Ætolians* were moſt exaſperated, and the *Romans* ſnatching the Opportunity of their Reſentment, or rather of their Folly, made an Alliance with them, entred *Greece*, and arm'd it againſt *Philip*. This Prince was defeated at the Battle of *Cynocephalæ*, and the Victory was partly gain'd by the Valour of the *Ætolians*: So great was his Terror on this Occaſion, that he concluded a Treaty, which was not ſo properly a Peace, as the renouncing his own Strength; for he evacuated his Garriſons in all *Greece*, deliver'd up his Ships, and bound himſelf under an Obligation of paying a thouſand Talents in ten Years.

Polybius compares, with his uſual good Senſe, the Diſpoſition of the *Roman* Armies with that of the [q] *Macedonians*, which

[q] A Circumſtance which had contributed very much to the Danger to which the *Romans* were expos'd in the ſecond *Punic* War, was, *Hannibal*'s preſently arming his Soldiers after the *Roman* Manner; but the *Greeks* did not change either their Arms or their Way of fighting; and could not prevail with themſelves to lay aſide Cuſtoms, by the Obſervance of which they had performed ſuch mighty Things.

was

was obſerv'd by all the Kings who ſucceeded *Alexander*: He points out the Conveniencies as well as Inconveniencies of the Phalanx and of the Legion: He prefers the Diſpoſition us'd by the *Romans*, in which he very probably was right, ſince all the Battles fought at that Time ſhow it to have been preferable.

The Succeſs which the *Romans* obtain'd over *Philip*, was the greateſt Step they ever took towards a general Conqueſt: To make ſure of *Greece*, they employ'd all Methods poſſible to depreſs the *Ætolians*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance they had been victorious: They ordain'd, moreover, that every City of *Greece* which had been ſubject to *Philip*, or any other ſovereign Prince, ſhould from that time be govern'd by its own Laws.

'Tis very evident, that theſe petty Commonwealths muſt neceſſarily be dependent: The *Greeks* abandon'd themſelves to a ſtupid Joy, and fondly imagin'd they were really free, becauſe the *Romans* had declar'd them to be ſo.

The *Ætolians*, who had imagin'd they ſhould bear Sway in *Greece*, finding they had only brought themſelves under Subjection, were ſeiz'd with the deepeſt Grief; and as they had always form'd deſperate Reſolutions, they invited, in order to correct one Extravagance by another, ANTIOCHUS King of *Syria* into *Greece*, in the ſame Manner

ner as they had before invited the *Romans*.

The Kings of *Syria* were the moſt powerful of all *Alexander*'s Succeſſors, they being poſſeſs'd of almoſt all the Dominions of *Darius*, *Egypt* excepted; but by the Concurrence of ſeveral Circumſtances, their Power had been much weakned.

Seleucus, who founded the *Syrian* Empire, had deſtroy'd, towards the latter End of his Life, the Kingdom of *Lyſimachus*. During the Feuds and Diſtractions, ſeveral Provinces took up Arms; the Kingdoms of *Pergamus*, of *Cappadocia* and of *Bithynia* ſtarted up; but theſe petty, fearful States, always conſider'd the Depreſſion of their former Maſters as the making of their own Fortune.

As the Kings of *Syria* always beheld, with a moſt invidious Eye, the Felicity of the Kingdom of *Egypt*, they bent their whole Thoughts to the Conqueſt of that Country; by this Means, neglecting the Eaſt, they were diſpoſſeſs'd of ſeveral Provinces there, and but indifferently obey'd in the reſt.

In fine, the Kings of *Syria* poſſeſs'd upper and lower *Aſia*; but Experience has ſhewn, that in this Caſe, when the Capital City and the chief Forces are in the lower Provinces of *Aſia*, there is no Poſſibility of maintaining the upper ones; and on the contrary, when the Seat of the Empire is

in

in the upper Provinces, the Monarch weakens himſelf by maintaining the lower ones. Neither the *Perſian* nor *Syrian* Empires were ever ſo powerful as that of the *Parthians*, tho' theſe reign'd over but Part of the Provinces which form'd the Dominions of thoſe two Powers. Had *Cyrus* not conquer'd the Kingdom of *Lydia*; had *Seleucus* continu'd in *Babylon*, and let the Succeſſors of *Antigonus* poſſeſs the Maritime Provinces, the *Greeks* wou'd never have conquer'd the *Perſian* Empire, nor the *Romans* that of *Seleucus*. Nature has preſcrib'd certain Limits to States, purpoſely to mortify the Ambition of Mortals: When the *Romans* ſtepp'd beyond thoſe Limits, the greateſt part of them were deſtroy'd by the *Parthians*[r]; when the *Parthians* preſum'd to paſs 'em, they were forc'd immediately to retire back; and in our Days, ſuch *Turks* as advanc'd beyond thoſe Boundaries, were oblig'd to return whence they came.

The Kings of *Syria* and *Egypt* had, in their reſpective Dominions, two Kinds of Subjects, victorious Nations, and Nations vanquiſhed; the former, ſtill puff'd up with the Idea of their Origin, were rul'd with very great Difficulty: They were not fir'd with

[r] I have given the Reaſon of this in the XV. Chapter, borrow'd partly from the Geographical Diſpoſition of the Two Empires.

that

that Spirit of Independance which animates us to ſhake off the Yoke, but with that Impatience which makes us wiſh to change our Sovereign.

But the chief Weakneſs of the Kingdom of *Syria* ſprung from that of the Court, where ſuch Monarchs preſided as were Succeſſors to *Darius*, not to *Alexander*. Luxury, Vanity and Effeminacy, which have prevail'd thro' all Ages in the *Aſiatic* Courts, triumphed more particularly in that of *Syria*: The Evil infected the common People and the Soldiers, and catch'd the very *Romans* themſelves; ſince the War in which they engag'd againſt *Antiochus*, is the true Æra of their Corruption.

Such was the Condition of the Kingdom of *Syria*, when *Antiochus*, who had performed ſuch mighty Things, declar'd War againſt the *Romans*; but he did not conduct himſelf in it with even the Wiſdom which is employ'd in common Affairs: *Hannibal* requeſted, either to have the War reviv'd in *Italy*, and *Philip* brib'd; or elſe that he might be prevail'd upon to ſtand neuter: *Antiochus* did not follow any part of this Advice: He appear'd in *Greece* with only a ſmall Part of his Forces: And as tho' he were come merely to ſee the War, not to carry it on, he follow'd nothing but his Pleaſures, by which means he was defeated,

and fled out of *Aſia*, terrified rather than conquer'd.

PHILIP, who was dragg'd to this War by the *Romans*, as tho' a Flood had ſwept him along, employ'd his whole Power in their Service, and became the Inſtrument of their Victories: The Pleaſure of taking Vengeance of, and laying waſte *Ætolia*; the Promiſe made him of leſſening the Tribute he paid, and of leaving him the Poſſeſſion of certain Cities; ſome perſonal Jealouſy of *Antiochus*; in a word, a few inconſiderable Motives ſway'd his Reſolutions; and not daring ſo much as to think of ſhaking off the Yoke, he only conſider'd how he might beſt lighten it.

Antiochus form'd ſo wrong a Judgment of Things, as to fancy that the *Romans* would not moleſt him in *Aſia*; however, they follow'd him thither; he was again overcome, and in his Conſternation, conſented to the moſt infamous Treaty that ever was concluded by ſo mighty a Prince.

I cannot recollect any thing ſo magnanimous, as a Reſolution taken by a Monarch in our Days[a], to bury himſelf under the Ruins of the Throne, rather than accept of Terms which were unworthy of a King: So haughty was his Soul, that he could not

[a] *Lewis* XIV.

ſtoop

ſtoop lower than his Misfortunes had thrown him; and he was very ſenſible, that Courage may, but Infamy can never, give freſh Strength to the Regal Diadem.

We often meet with Princes who have Skill enough to fight a Battle, but with very few that have the Talents requiſite for carrying on a War; who are equally capable of making a proper Uſe of Fortune and of waiting for her; and who join to a Frame of Mind, which raiſes Suſpicions before it executes, ſuch a Diſpoſition as makes them fearleſs after they have once executed.

After the Depreſſion of *Antiochus*, ſome inconſiderable Powers only remain'd, if we except *Egypt*, which, from the Advantage of its Situation, its Fertility, its Commerce, the great Number of its Inhabitants, its Naval and Land-Forces, might have been formidable; but the Cruelty of its Kings, their Cowardice, their Avarice, their Imbecillity, and their enormous Senſualities, made 'em ſo odious to their Subjects, that they ſupported themſelves, for the moſt part, by the Protection of the *Romans*.

'Twas a kind of fundamental Law, with regard to the Crown of *Egypt*, that the Siſters ſhould ſucceed with the Brothers; and in order to preſerve Unity in the Government, the Brother was married to the Siſter. Now, 'tis ſcarce poſſible to figure any thing more pernicious in Politicks than

ſuch an Order of Succeſſion; for as all the little domeſtic Feuds roſe ſo high as to diſorder the State, whichſoever of the Two Parties had the leaſt Diſcontent, immediately excited againſt the other, the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, a numberleſs Multitude, always prepar'd to join with the firſt of their Kings who ſhould rouze them; ſo that there were for ever Princes who actually reign'd, and Pretenders to the Crown; and as the Kingdoms of *Cyrene* and *Cyprus* were generally poſſeſs'd by other Princes of that Houſe, who laid their reſpective Claims to the whole; by that Means the Throne of theſe Princes was ever tottering; and being indifferently ſettled at home, they had no Power abroad.

The Forces of the Kings of *Egypt*, like thoſe of the *Aſiatic* Monarchs, were compos'd of auxiliary *Greeks*. Beſides the Spirit of Liberty, of Honour, and of Glory, which animated the latter People, they were inceſſantly employ'd in bodily Exerciſes of every Kind. In all their chief Cities Games were inſtituted, wherein the Victors were crown'd in the Preſence of all *Greece*, which rais'd a general Emulation: Now, in an Age when Combatants fought with Arms, the Succeſs of which depended on their Strength and Dexterity, 'tis natural to ſuppoſe that Men thus exercis'd, muſt have had a great Advantage over a Croud of

Barba-

Barbarians, who were enliſted at Random, and dragg'd indiſcriminately into the Field, as was evident from the Armies of *Darius*.

The *Romans*, in order to deprive the Kings of ſuch a Body of Soldiery, and to bereave them, but in an eaſy, ſilent Manner, of their principal Forces, obſerv'd two Things: Firſt, they eſtabliſh'd by inſenſible Degrees as a Maxim, with reſpect to all the Cities of *Greece*, that they ſhould not conclude any Alliance, give any Succour, or make War againſt any Nation whatſoever without their Conſent: Secondly, in their Treaties with [t] Kings, they forbid them to levy any Forces from among the Allies of the *Romans*, by which Means, thoſe Monarchs were reduc'd to employ their national Troops only.

[t] They had before obſerv'd this political Conduct with regard to the *Carthaginians*, whom they oblig'd, by the Treaty concluded with them, to employ no longer auxiliary Troops, as appears from a Fragment of *Dion*.

CHAPTER VI.

The Conduct which the ROMANS *obſerv'd, in order to ſubdue all Nations.*

DURING the Courſe of ſo mighty a Proſperity, in which 'tis uſual for Mankind to forget themſelves, the Senate continu'd to act with the ſame Depth of Judgment; and whilſt their Armies were ſpreading an univerſal Terror, they would not ſuffer thoſe to riſe who were once caſt to the Ground.

A Tribunal aroſe which judg'd all Nations: At the Cloſe of every War they determin'd the Rewards or Puniſhments which every one had merited: They took away from the vanquiſh'd People, part of their Lands, and gave 'em to their Allies, in which they did two things; they engag'd in the Intereſts of *Rome*, Princes from whom they had little to fear, and much to hope; and they weakned others from whom they had nothing to hope, and every thing to fear.

In warring with an Enemy they made uſe of their Allies, but immediately extirpated the Deſtroyers. *Philip* was overcome by the Aſſiſtance of the *Ætolians*, who were deſtroy'd preſently after, for having join'd themſelves to *Antiochus*. This King was overcome

overcome by the Aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians*; but after the moſt conſpicuous Rewards had been beſtow'd upon 'em, they were depreſſed for ever, upon Pretence that they had demanded to have a Peace concluded with *Perſeus*.

When the *Romans* were oppos'd by ſeveral Enemies at the ſame time, they granted a Truce to the Weakeſt, who thought themſelves happy in obtaining it; conſidering it as a great Advantage, that their Ruin had been ſuſpended.

When they were engag'd in a mighty War, the Senate wink'd at Wrongs of every Kind, and ſilently waited the Seaſon proper for Chaſtiſement: If at any time a People ſent 'em the Offenders, they refus'd to puniſh 'em, chuſing rather to conſider the whole Nation as guilty, and reſerve to themſelves a uſeful Vengeance.

As they made their Enemies ſuffer inexpreſſible Evils, very few Leagues were formed againſt them; for He who was at the greateſt Diſtance from the Danger, did not care to come near it.

For this Reaſon War was ſeldom denounc'd againſt 'em, but themſelves always made it at a Seaſon, in the Manner, and with a People, as beſt ſuited their Intereſt; and among the great Number of Nations they invaded, there were very few but would have ſubmitted to Injuries of every

Kind, provided they cou'd but be ſuffer'd to live in Peace.

As 'twas uſual for them to deliver themſelves always in a magiſterial Way, ſuch Embaſſadors as they ſent to Nations who had not yet felt the Weight of their Power, were ſure to meet with ill Treatment, which furniſh'd them with a ſure [a] Pretence to engage in a new War.

As they never concluded a Peace with Sincerity and Integrity, and intended a general Invaſion, their Treaties were properly but ſo many Suſpenſions from War; they inſerted ſuch Conditions in them, as always pav'd the Way to the Ruin of thoſe States who accepted 'em: They us'd to ſend the Garriſons out of the Strong-Holds; they regulated the Number of the Land-Forces, or had the Horſes and Elephants deliver'd up to them; and, in caſe this People were powerful at Sea, they oblig'd them to burn their Ships, and ſometimes to remove higher up in the Country.

After having deſtroy'd the Armies of a Prince, they drain'd his Treaſury, by impoſing a heavy Tribute, or taxing him immoderately, under Colour of making him defray the Expence of the War: A new Species of Tyranny, which oblig'd him to

[a] See an Example of this, in their War with the *Dalmates*. See *Polybius*.

oppreſs

oppreſs his Subjects, and thereby loſe their Affection.

Whenever they granted a Peace to ſome Prince, they us'd to take one of his Brothers or Children by way of Hoſtage, which gave them an Opportunity of raiſing, at Pleaſure, Commotions in his Kingdom: When they had the next Heir among them, 'twas their Cuſtom to intimidate the Poſſeſſor: Had they only a Prince of a remote Degree, they made uſe of him to foment the Inſurrections of the Populace.

Whenever any Prince or any People had withdrawn from their Allegiance, they immediately indulg'd 'em the Title of [b] Ally to the *Romans*; and by this Means they became ſacred and inviolable; ſo that there was no Monarch, how formidable ſoever, who could rely one Moment upon his Subjects, or even upon his own Family.

Altho' the Title of their Ally was a kind of Servitude, it [c] yet was very much ſought after; for thoſe who enjoy'd it were ſure to receive no Injuries but from them, and had Reaſon to flatter themſelves they would be leſs grievous; hence Nations and Kings

[b] See particularly their Treaty with the *Jews* in the 1*ſt* Book of the *Maccabees*, *Ch* 8.

[c] *Ariarathes* offerr'd a Sacrifice to the Gods, ſays *Polybius*, by way of Thanks for having obtain'd their Alliance.

were ready to undertake any kind of Services, and ſubmitted to the meaneſt and moſt groveling Acts, merely for the ſake of obtaining it.

They had various Kinds of Allies; ſome were united to them by Priviſeges and a Participation in their Grandeur, as the *Latins* and the *Hernici*; others by the Settlement it ſelf, as their Colonies; ſome by good Offices, as *Maſſaniſſa*, *Eumenes*, and *Attalus*, who were oblig'd to them for their Kingdoms or their Exaltation; others by free and unconſtrain'd Treaties, and theſe, by the long Continuation of the Alliance, became Subjects, as the Kings of *Egypt*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, and moſt of the *Grecian* Cities; in fine, many by forc'd and involuntary Treaties, and by the Law of their Subjection, as *Philip* and *Antiochus*; for every Peace the *Romans* granted an Enemy, included alſo an Alliance with him; or in other Words, they made every Nation ſubdued by them contribute to the Depreſſion of others.

When they permitted any Cities the Enjoyment of their Liberties, they immediately rais'd two [d] Factions in them, one of which defended the Laws and Liberties of the Country, whilſt the other aſſerted, that the Will of the *Romans* was the only Law;

[d] See *Polybius* on the Cities of *Greece*.

and

and as the latter Faction was always the moſt powerful, 'tis plain ſuch a Liberty could be but a mere Name.

They ſometimes poſſeſs'd themſelves of a Country upon Pretence of being Heirs to it: They entred *Aſia*, *Bithynia* and *Libya* by the Laſt Wills of *Attalus*, of *Nicomedes*[e], and of *Appion*; and *Egypt* was enſlav'd by that of the King of *Cyrene*.

To keep great Princes for ever in a weak Condition, they would not ſuffer 'em to conclude an Alliance with thoſe Nations to whom they had granted theirs[f]; and as they did not refuſe it to any People who border'd upon a powerful Prince, this Condition inſerted in a Treaty of Peace, deprived him of all his Allies.

Beſides, when they had overcome any conſiderable Prince, one of the Articles of the Treaty was, that he ſhould not make War, upon Account of any Feuds of his own, with the Allies of the *Romans* (that is to ſay, generally with all his Neighbours); but ſhould ſubmit 'em to Arbitration, which depriv'd him of a Military Power for time to come.

And in order to keep the ſole Poſſeſſion of it in their own Hands, they bereav'd their very Allies of this Force; the Inſtant theſe

[e] The Son of *Philopator*.
[f] This was *Antiochus*'s Caſe.

had the leaſt Conteſt, they ſent Embaſſadors, who oblig'd 'em to conclude a Peace: We need but conſider the Manner in which they terminated the Wars of *Attalus* and *Pruſias*.

When any Prince had gain'd ſuch a Conqueſt as often had exhauſted him, immediately a *Roman* Embaſſador came and wreſted it out of his Hands: Among a Multitude of Examples, we may remember how they, with a ſingle Word, drove *Antiochus* out of *Egypt*.

Fully ſenſible how well the *European* Nations were turn'd for War, they eſtabliſh'd as a Law, that no [g] *Aſiatic* Monarch ſhould be ſuffer'd to come into *Europe*, and there invade any People whatſoever. The chief Motive of their declaring War againſt *Mithridates* [h] was, for his having ſubdu'd ſome Barbarians contrary to this Prohibition.

When they ſaw two Nations engag'd in War, altho' they were not in Alliance, nor had any Conteſt with either of 'em, they nevertheleſs appear'd upon the Stage of Action, and, like our Knight-Errants, always ſided with the Weakeſt: 'Twas an [i] an-

[g] The Order ſent to *Antiochus*, even before the War, for him not to croſs into *Europe*, was made general with regard to all other Kings.

[h] *Appian. de Bello Mithridat.*

[i] A Fragment of *Dionyſius*, copied from the Extract of Embaſſies, made by *Conſtantine Porphyrogenneta*.

tient

tient Cuſtom, ſays *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, for the *Romans* to grant Succour to all who came to implore it.

Theſe Cuſtoms of the *Romans* were not certain particular Incidents, which happen'd by chance, but were ſo many invariable Principles; and this is eaſy to perceive, for the Maxims they put in Practice againſt the greateſt Monarchs were exactly the ſame with thoſe they had employ'd, in their Infant State, againſt the little Cities which ſtood round 'em.

They made *Eumenes* and *Maſſaniſſa* contribute to the Subjection of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, as they had before employ'd the *Latins* and the *Hernici* to ſubdue the *Volſcians* and the *Tuſcans*: They oblig'd the *Carthaginians* and the Kings of *Aſia* to ſurrender their Fleets to them, in like Manner as they had forc'd the Citizens of *Antium* to give up their little Veſſels.

Whenever there happen'd any Feud in a State, they immediately judg'd the Affair, and thereby were ſure of having that Party only, whom they condemn'd, for their Enemy. If Princes of the ſame Blood were at Variance for the Crown, they ſometimes declar'd 'em both Kings, and by this Means cruſh'd the Power of both: If one of 'em was a [k] Minor, they declar'd in his-

[k] To enable themſelves to ruin *Syria*, in quality of Guardians, they declared in Favour of the Son of *An-*

Favour,

8

Favour, and made themſelves his Guardians in quality of Protectors of the World; for they had carried Matters to ſo high a Pitch, that Nations and Kings were their Subjects, without knowing directly upon what Right or Title; it being a Maxim, that the bare hearing of their Names, was ſufficient for a People to acknowledge them their Sovereigns.

When any State compos'd too formidable a Body from its Situation or Union, they never fail'd to divide it. The Republic of *Achaia* was form'd by an Aſſociation of free Cities; the Senate declar'd, that every City ſhould from that time be govern'd by its own Laws, independent on the general Authority.

The Commonwealth of *Bœotia* roſe likewiſe from a League made between ſeveral Cities; but, as in the War of *Perſeus*, one City declar'd for that Prince, and others for the *Romans*; the latter receiv'd them into Favour, when the common Alliance was diſſolv'd.

Macedonia was ſurrounded by inacceſſible Mountains: The Senate divided it into four Parts; declar'd thoſe free; prohibited them every Kind of Alliance among themſelves

tiochus, who was but a Child, in Oppoſition to *Demetrius* who was their Hoſtage, and conjur'd 'em to do him Juſtice, crying, that *Rome* was his Mother, and the Senators his Fathers.

by

by Marriage; carried off all the Nobles into *Italy*, and by that Means reduc'd this Power to nothing.

Had a great Monarch who reign'd in our Time follow'd theſe Maxims, when he ſaw a neighb'ring Prince dethron'd, he would have employ'd a ſtronger Force in his Support, and have confin'd him to the Iſland which continu'd faithful to him. By dividing the only Power that cou'd have oppoſed his Deſigns, he would have drawn infinite Advantages even from the Misfortunes of his Ally.

The *Romans* never engag'd in far-diſtant Wars, till they had firſt made an Alliance with ſome Power contiguous to the Enemy they invaded, who might unite his Troops to the Army they ſent; and as this was never conſiderable with regard to Numbers, they always had [1] another in that Province which lay neareſt the Enemy, and a third in *Rome*, ever ready to march at a Moment's Warning. In this Manner they never hazarded but a ſmall part of their Forces, whilſt their Enemy ventur'd all his.

They ſometimes inſidiouſly abus'd the Subtlety of the Words of their Language: They deſtroy'd *Carthage*, upon pretence that they had promis'd to preſerve the *Ci-*

1 This was their conſtant Practice, as appears from Hiſtory.

vitas

vitas not the *Urbs* [m]. 'Tis well known in what Manner the *Ætolians*, who had abandon'd themſelves to their Faith, were impos'd upon; the *Romans* pretended, that the Signification of theſe Words, *Abandon one's ſelf to the Faith of an Enemy*, imply'd, the Loſs of all Things; of Perſons, Lands, Cities, Temples, and even of Burial Places.

The *Romans* would even go ſo far, as to give arbitrary Explanations to Treaties: Thus, when they were reſolv'd to depreſs the *Rhodians*, they declar'd, that they had formerly given them *Lycia*, not by way of Preſent, but as a Friend and Ally.

When one of their Generals concluded a Peace, merely to preſerve his Army which was juſt upon the point of being cut to Pieces, the Senate, who did not ratify it, took Advantage of this Peace and continu'd the War. Thus when JUGURTHA had ſurrounded an Army of *Romans*, and permitted them to march away unmoleſted, upon the Faith of a Treaty, theſe very Troops he had ſav'd were employ'd againſt him: And when the *Numantines* had reduc'd Twenty thouſand *Romans* juſt periſhing with Hunger, to the Neceſſity of ſuing for Peace;

[m] There is ſometimes this Difference between *Civitas* and *Urbs*; the former ſignifies the Inhabitants, the latter the Buildings. *Note by the Tranſlator.*

this

this Peace, which had ſav'd the Lives of ſo many thouſand Citizens, was broke at *Rome*, and the Public Faith was eluded by [n] ſending back the Conſul who had ſign'd it.

They ſometimes would conclude a Peace with a Monarch upon reaſonable Conditions, and the Inſtant he had executed them, they added others of ſo injurious a Nature, that he was forc'd to renew the War. Thus, when they had forc'd *Jugurtha* to [o] deliver up his Elephants, his Horſes, his Treaſures, and his Deſerters, they requir'd him to ſurrender up his Perſon, which being the greateſt Calamity that can befal a Prince, cannot for that Reaſon be ever made an Article of Peace.

In fine, they ſet up a Tribunal over Kings, whom they judg'd for their particular Vices and Crimes: They heard the Complaints of all Perſons who had any Diſpute with PHILIP: They ſent Deputies with 'em by way of Safeguard, and oblig'd *Perſeus* to appear before theſe, to anſwer for certain Murthers and certain Quarrels

[n] After *Claudius Glycias* had granted the *Corſicans* a Peace, the Senate gave Orders for renewing the War againſt them, and deliver'd up *Glycias* to the Inhabitants of the Iſland, who would not receive him. Every one knows what happen'd at the *Furcæ Caudinæ*.

[o] They acted the ſame part with regard to *Viriatus*: After having oblig'd him to give up the Deſerters, he was order'd to ſurrender up his Arms, to which neither himſelf nor his Army could conſent. *Fragment of Dion.*

they

he had with ſome Inhabitants of the confederate Cities.

As Men judg'd of the Glory of a General by the Quantity of the Gold and Silver carried in his Triumph, the *Romans* ſtripp'd the vanquiſh'd Enemy of all things. *Rome* was for ever enriching it ſelf; and every War they engag'd in, enabled 'em to undertake a new one.

All the Nations who were either Friends or Confederates, quite [p] ruin'd themſelves by the immenſely-rich Preſents they made, in order to procure the Continuance of the Favours already beſtow'd upon 'em, or to obtain greater; and half the Monies which us'd to be ſent upon theſe Occaſions to the *Romans*, would have ſuffic'd to conquer them.

Being Maſters of the Univerſe, they arrogated to themſelves all the Treaſures of it; and were leſs unjuſt Robbers, conſider'd as Conquerors, than conſider'd as Legiſlators. Hearing that PTOLEMY King of *Cyprus* was poſſeſs'd of immenſe Wealth, they [q] enacted a Law, propos'd by a Tribune, by which they gave to themſelves the Inhe-

[p] The Preſents which the Senate us'd to ſend Kings were mere Trifles, as a Chair and an Ivory Staff, or a Robe like to that worn by their Magiſtrates.

[q] *Divitiarum tanta fama erat*, ſays *Florus*, *ut victor Gentium populus, & donare Regna conſultus, ſocii virique Regis confiſcationem mandaverit.* Lib. III. c. 9.

ritance.

ritance of a Man ſtill living, and confiſcated to their own Uſe the Eſtates of a confederate Prince.

In a little time, the Greedineſs of particular Perſons quite devour'd whatever had eſcap'd the public Avarice; Magiſtrates and Governors us'd to ſell their Injuſtice to Kings: Two Competitors would ruin one another, for the ſake of purchaſing an ever-dubious Protection againſt a Rival who was not quite undone; for the *Romans* had not even the Juſtice of Robbers, who diſcover a certain Probity in the Exerciſe of Guilt. In fine, as Rights, whether lawful or uſurped, were maintain'd by Money only; Princes, to obtain it, deſpoil'd Temples, and confiſcated the Poſſeſſions of the wealthieſt Citizens; a thouſand Crimes were committed, purely for the ſake of giving to the *Romans* all the Money in the Univerſe.

But nothing was of greater Advantage to this People than the Awe with which they ſtruck the whole Earth: In an Inſtant, Kings were put to Silence, and ſeem'd as though they were ſtupid; no Regard was had to their Eminence, but their very Perſons were attack'd; to hazard a War, was to expoſe themſelves to Captivity, to Death, to the Infamy of a Triumph. Thus Kings, who liv'd in the midſt of Pomps and Pleaſures, did not dare to fix their Eyes ſtedfaſtly on the

the *Roman* People; and their Courage failing them, they hop'd to ſuſpend a little the Miſeries with which they were threatned, by their Patience and groveling Actions.

Obſerve, I intreat you, the Conduct of the *Romans*. After the Defeat of ANTIOCHUS they were poſſeſs'd of *Africa*, *Aſia* and *Greece*, without having ſcarce a ſingle City in theſe Countries that were immediately their own. They ſeem'd to conquer with no other View but to beſtow; but then they obtain'd ſo complete a Sovereignty, that whenever they engag'd in War with any Prince, they oppreſs'd him, as it were, with the Weight of the whole Univerſe.

The Time proper for ſeizing upon the conquer'd Countries was not yet come: Had the *Romans* kept the Cities they took from *Philip*, the *Greeks* would have ſeen at once into their Deſigns: Had they, after the Second *Punic* War, or that with *Antiochus*, poſſeſs'd themſelves of Lands in [r] *Africa* and in *Aſia*, they could never have preſerv'd Conqueſts ſo ſlightly eſtabliſh'd.

'Twas the Intereſt of the *Romans* to wait till all Nations were accuſtom'd to obey, as free and as confederate, before they ſhould

[r] They did not dare to venture their Colonies in thoſe Countries; but choſe rather to raiſe an eternal Jealouſy between the *Carthaginians* and *Maſſiniſſa*, and to make both thoſe Powers aſſiſt 'em in the Conqueſt of *Macedonia* and *Greece*.

attempt

attempt to command over them as Subjects; and to let 'em blend and loſe themſelves, as it were, by little and little, in the *Roman* Commonwealth.

This was a ſlow Way of conquering: After overcoming a Nation, they contented themſelves with weakning it; they impoſed ſuch Conditions as conſum'd it inſenſibly: If it recover'd, they depreſs'd it ſtill more, and it became ſubject, without there being a Poſſibility of dating the Æra of its Subjection.

Thus *Rome* was not properly either a Monarchy or a Commonwealth, but the Head of a Body compos'd of all the Nations in the Univerſe.

Had the *Spaniards*, after the Conqueſt of *Mexico* and *Peru*, follow'd this Plan, they would not have been oblig'd to deſtroy All, for the ſake of preſerving All.

'Tis a Folly in Conquerors to force their own Laws and Cuſtoms on all Nations; ſuch a Conduct is of very ill Conſequence, for Men are capable of obeying under all Kinds of Government.

But as *Rome* did not impoſe any general Laws, the Nations did not form any dangerous Aſſociations; they form'd one Body no otherwiſe than by a common Obedience; and were all *Romans* without being Countrymen.

It perhaps will be objected, that no Empires founded on the Laws of Fiefs were ever durable or powerful. But nothing could be ſo contradictory as the Plan of the *Romans* and that of the *Goths*; and juſt to mention theſe Plans, the former was a Work of Strength, the latter of Weakneſs: In the One, Subjection was extreme, in the Other, Independence: In the *Gothic* States, Power was lodged in the Vaſſals, and Right only in the Prince; whereas 'twas the reverſe in the *Roman* Government.

CHAPTER VII.

How it was poſſible for Mithridates *to reſiſt the* ROMANS.

AMONG the ſeveral Kings whom the *Romans* invaded, MITHRIDATES was the only one who made a courageous Defence and expos'd 'em to Danger.

His Dominions were ſituated to wonderful Advantage for carrying on a War with them: They border'd on the inacceſſible Countries of Mount *Caucaſus*, peopled with ſavage Nations, whom that Prince could call to his Aſſiſtance; they thence extended along the Sea of *Pontus*, which *Mithridates* cover'd with his Ships, and he was inceſſantly purchaſing new Armies of *Scythians*: *Aſia* was open to his Invaſions, and he was rich, becauſe his Cities, ſituated on the *Pontus Euxinus*, carried on an advantageous Traffic with Nations leſs induſtrious than themſelves.

Proſcriptions, the Cuſtom of which began at this Time, had forc'd ſeveral *Romans* to leave their Country. Theſe were receiv'd by *Mithridates* with open Arms, and he form'd Legions [s] into which he in-

[s] *Frontin. Stratagem. Lib.* II. tells us, that *Archelaus*, Lieutenant of *Mithridates*, engaging againſt *Sylla*, poſted,

corporated

corporated thoſe Exiles, who prov'd the beſt Soldiers in his Army.

On the other ſide, the *Romans* diſorder'd by inteſtine Diviſions, and threatned with more imminent Dangers, neglected the Affairs of *Aſia*, and ſuffer'd *Mithridates* to purſue his Victories, or take Breath after his Defeats.

Nothing had contributed more to the Ruin of moſt Kings, than the manifeſt Deſire they ſhew'd for Peace: By this, they had prevented all other Nations from dividing with them a Danger, from which they were ſo anxious to extricate themſelves: But *Mithridates* immediately made the whole World ſenſible, that he was an Enemy to the *Romans*, and would be ſo eternally.

In fine, the Cities of *Greece* and *Aſia* finding the *Roman* Yoke grow more intolerable every Day, repos'd their whole Confidence in this barbarous King, who invited them to Liberty.

This Diſpoſition of Things gave Riſe to three mighty Wars, which form one of the nobleſt Parts of the *Roman* Hiſtory, and for this Reaſon: We don't, on this Occaſion,

in the firſt Rank, his Chariots arm'd with Scythes, in the ſecond his Phalanx, in the third his Auxiliaries arm'd after the *Roman* Way; *mixtis fugitivis Italiæ, quorum pervicaciæ multùm fidebat.* *Mithridates* even made an Alliance with *Sertorius*. See alſo *Plutarch*, *Life* of *Lucullus*.

read

read of Princes already overcome by Luxury and Pride, as *Antiochus* and *Tigranes*; nor by Fear, as *Philip*, *Perſeus* and *Jugurtha*; but a magnanimous King, who in Adverſity, like a Lion that gazes upon his Wounds, was fir'd with the greater Indignation upon that Account.

This part of the *Roman* Hiſtory is ſingular, becauſe it abounds with perpetual and ever-unexpected Revolutions: For as on one ſide, *Mithridates* could eaſily recruit his Armies; it alſo appear'd, that in thoſe Reverſes of Fortune, in which Kings ſtand in greateſt Need of Obedience and a ſtrict Diſcipline, his Barbarian Forces forſook him: As he had the Art of enticing Nations, and ſtirring up Cities to Rebellion, he alſo was betray'd by his Captains, his Children and his Wives; in fine, as he was ſometimes oppos'd by unexperienc'd *Roman* Generals, ſo there was ſent againſt him, at other times, SYLLA, LUCULLUS and POMPEY.

This Prince, after having defeated the *Roman* Generals, and conquer'd *Aſia*, *Macedonia* and *Greece*; having been vanquiſh'd, in his turn, by *Sylla*; confin'd by a Treaty to his former Limits; haraſs'd by the *Roman* Generals; become once more the Conqueror of *Aſia*; drove away by *Lucullus*; purſu'd into his own Country; oblig'd to fly for Shelter to *Tigranes*, and defeated with

him: Finding this Monarch irrecoverably loſt, and depending merely upon himſelf for Succour, he took Sanctuary in his own Dominions, and re-aſcended the Throne.

Lucullus was ſucceeded by *Pompey*, who puite overpower'd *Mithridates*. He then flies out of his Dominions, and croſſing the *Araxes*, marches from Danger to Danger thro' the Country of the *Lazians*; and aſſembling in his Way all the Barbarians he met with, appear'd in the *Boſphorus* before [b] MACCHARES his Son, who had reconcil'd himſelf to the *Romans*.

Altho' plung'd in ſo deep an Abyſs, he yet [c] form'd a Deſign of making *Italy* the Seat of the War, and of marching to *Rome* at the Head of thoſe Nations who enſlav'd it ſome Years after, and by the ſame Way they did.

Betray'd by *Pharnaces*, another of his Sons, and by an Army terrified at the Greatneſs of his Enterprizes and the Perils he was going in ſearch of, he died in a Manner worthy a King.

'Twas then that *Pompey*, in the Rapidity of his Victories, compleated the pompous Work of the *Roman* Grandeur: He united

[b] *Mithridates* had made him King of the *Boſphorus*. News being brought of his Father's Arrival, he diſpatch'd himſelf.

[c] See *Appian, de Bello Mithridatico.*

to

to the Body of its Empire, Countries of a boundleſs Extent, which, however, heightned the *Roman* Magnificence rather than increas'd its Power; and tho' it appear'd by the Titles carried in his Triumph, that he had increas'd the Revenue of the public Treaſury [d] above a Third, there yet was no Augmentation in Power; and the public Liberty was thereby only expos'd to the greater Danger.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Diviſions which always ſubſiſted in the CITY.

WHILST *Rome* was conquering the World, a hidden War was carrying on within its Walls: Theſe were Fires like thoſe of Volcano's, which break out the Inſtant they are fed by ſome combuſtible Subſtance.

After the Expulſion of the Kings, the Government became Ariſtocratical: The Patrician Families only, obtain'd all the Employments and Dignities in the [a] State,

[d] See *Plutarch* in the Life of *Pompey*; and *Zonaras*, Lib. II.

[a] The Patricians were inveſted, in ſome meaſure, with a ſacred Character, and they only were allow'd to take the Auſpices. See in *Livy*, Book VI. the Speech of *Appius Claudius*.

and conſequently all [b] Honours Civil and Military.

The Patricians being determin'd to prevent, if poſſible, the Return of the Kings, endeavour'd to foment the reſtleſs Principle which now prevail'd in the Minds of the People; but they did more than they would willingly have done: By attempting to inſpire them with a Hatred for Kings, they fir'd them with an inordinate Thirſt for Liberty. As the Royal Authority had devolved entirely upon the Conſuls, the People found they were far from poſſeſſing that Liberty they were taught to idolize: They therefore ſought for Methods by which they might depreſs the Conſulate; procure *Plebeian* Magiſtrates; and ſhare the *Curules*, or greater Employments, with the Nobles. The Patricians were forc'd to comply with all the Demands of the People; for in a City where Poverty was the public Virtue; where Wealth, that clandeſtine Path to Power, was deſpis'd; neither Birth nor Dignities could beſtow any great Advantages: It was therefore neceſſary for Power to fall into the Hands of the greater Number, and for Ariſtocracy to change by inſenſible Degrees into a popular State.

[b] As for Inſtance, they alone were permitted to Triumph, ſince they alone could be Conſuls and Generals.

Thoſe

Thoſe who are ſubordinate to a King, are leſs tortur'd with Envy and Jealouſy than ſuch as live under an hereditary Ariſtocracy: The Prince is at ſo great a Diſtance from his Subjects that he is ſcarce ſeen by 'em, and is rais'd ſo far above 'em, that they cannot conceive any Relation capable of giving 'em Diſguſt: But when the Nobles preſide in a State, they are expos'd to the Eyes of all Men, and are not ſeated ſo high as to prevent odious Compariſons from being made perpetually; and, indeed, the People have deteſted Senators, in this and in all Ages. Such Commonwealths in which Birth does not beſtow any Share in the Legiſlature, are the happieſt in this Reſpect; for 'tis natural that the People ſhould not bear ſo much Envy to an Authority, which they beſtow on whom they think proper, and reſume at Will.

The People being diſguſted at the Patricians, withdrew to the ſacred Hill (*Mons ſacer*), whither Deputies being ſent, they were appeas'd: And as they all made a Promiſe to aſſiſt one another, in caſe the Patricians ſhould not perform their [c] Engagement, which would have created Seditions every Moment, and diſturb'd all the Magiſtrates in the Exerciſe of their Functions; 'twas judg'd better to create an Offi-

[c] *Zonaras, Lib.* II.

cer, [d] who might protect the People againſt any Injuſtice that ſhou'd be done 'em: But by a Malady for ever incident to Man, the Plebeians, who had obtain'd Tribunes merely to defend 'em, employ'd thoſe very Magiſtrates to annoy others; ſo that they ſtript, by inſenſible Degrees, the Patricians of all their Privileges. This gave Riſe to everlaſting Conteſts: The People were ſupported, or rather animated, by their Tribunes; and the Patricians were defended by the Senate, the greateſt part of which conſiſted of Patricians, who were more inclin'd to favour the antient Maxims; and afraid that the Populace would raiſe ſome Tribune to arbitrary Power.

The People employ'd, in the Defence of this Magiſtrate, their own Strength, and the Superiority they had in the Suffrages; their Refuſal to march into the Field, their Threats to go quite away; the Partiality of their Laws; in fine, their Sentences pronounc'd againſt thoſe who had oppos'd 'em too vigorouſly: The Senate defended themſelves by their Wiſdom, their Juſtice, and the Love they inſpir'd for one's Country; by their Beneficence, and the prudent Diſtribution of the Treaſures of the Commonwealth; by the Veneration which the Peo-

[d] Origin of the Tribunes of the People.

ple

ple had for the Glory of the principal [e] Families, and the Virtue of illuſtrious Perſonages; by Religion it ſelf, the antient Inſtitutions, and the Prohibition of Days of public Meeting, upon pretence that the Auſpices had not been favourable; by their Clients, by the Oppoſition of one Tribune to another; by the Creation of a [f] Dictator, the Occupations of a new War, or the Misfortunes and Calamities which united all Parties; in a word, by a paternal Condeſcenſion, in granting the People part of their Demands, purpoſely to make 'em re-

[e] The People had ſo great a Veneration for the chief Families, that altho' they had obtain'd the Privilege of creating Plebeian Military Tribunes, who were inveſted with the ſame Power as the Conſuls, they nevertheleſs always made choice of Patricians for this Employment. They were oblig'd to put a Conſtraint upon 'emſelves, and to enact, that there ſhould ever be a Plebeian Conſul; and when any Plebeian Families were rais'd to Employments in the State, they afterwards were always carried: 'Twas with Difficulty that the People, notwithſtanding the perpetual Deſire they had to depreſs the Nobility, depreſs'd 'em in reality; and when they rais'd to Honours ſome Perſon of mean Extraction, as *Varro* and *Marius*, it coſt 'em very great Struggles.

[f] The Patricians, to defend themſelves, us'd to create a Dictator, which prov'd of the greateſt Advantage to 'em; but the Plebeians having obtain'd the Privilege of being elected Conſuls, could alſo be elected Dictators, which quite diſconcerted the Patricians. See in *Livy*, *Lib.* VIII. in what manner *Publius Philo* depreſs'd 'em in his Dictatorſhip. He enacted Three Laws, by which they receiv'd the higheſt Prejudice.

linquiſh the reſt; and by that ſtedfaſt Maxim, of preferring the Safety of the Republic to the Prerogatives of any Order or public Employment whatſoever.

In Proceſs of Time, when the Plebians had depreſs'd the Patricians to ſuch a Degree, that this [g] Diſtinction of Families was empty and fruitleſs, and that both were indiſcriminately rais'd to Honours, new Conteſts aroſe between the Populace, whom their Tribunes ſpirited up, and the chief Families, whether Patrician or Plebian, which latter were ſtyl'd Nobles, and were favour'd by the Senate that was compos'd of them: But, as the antient Manners ſubſiſted no more; as particular Perſons were poſſeſs'd of immenſe Wealth, and that 'tis impoſſible but Wealth muſt give Power; the Nobles made a ſtronger Reſiſtance than the Patricians had done, which occcaſion'd the Death of the *Gracchi*, and of [h] ſeveral Perſons who follow'd their Plan.

I muſt take Notice of an Office which contributed greatly to the happy Polity of *Rome*; 'twas that of the Cenſors. Theſe

[g] The Patricians referred to themſelves only a few Offices belonging to the Prieſthood, and the Privilege of creating a Magiſtrate call'd *Inter-rex*.

[h] As *Saturninus* and *Glaucias*.

number'd

number'd or ſurvey'd the [i] People; farther, as the Strength of the Commonwealth conſiſted in the Strictneſs of Diſcipline, in the Severity of Manners, and the uninterrupted Obſervation of certain Cuſtoms; they corrected ſuch Errors and Abuſes as the Legiſlative Power had not foreſeen, or the ordinary Magiſtrate [k] could not puniſh. Some bad Examples are worſe than Crimes, and a Violation of Manners has deſtroy'd more States, than the Infraction of Laws: In *Rome*, whatever might tend to introduce dangerous Novelties, to create a Change in the Minds or Affections of the Citizen, and prevent, if I may uſe the Expreſſion, the Perpetuity of it; all Diſorders and Tumults, whether publick or private, were reform'd by the Cenſors; theſe had Authority to expel whomſoever they pleas'd the Senate; cou'd take from a Knight the Horſe maintain'd for him at the publick Expence; and degrade a Citizen to the

[i] The *Cenſus* or Survey of the Citizens was a very prudent Inſtitution in it ſelf; This was the Detail of the State of their Affairs, and an enquiry into their Power. It was founded by *Servius Tullius*, before whom, according to *Eutropius*, Book I. the *Cenſus* was unknown.

[k] The Reader may ſee in what manner thoſe were degraded who, after the Battle of *Cannæ*, were for leaving *Italy*; thoſe who had ſurrendred to *Hannibal*, thoſe who by an inſidious and falſe Interpretation, had forfeited their Word.

Rank of ſuch as contributed to the Maintenance of the Magiſtrates of the City, without enjoying the Privileges of it; in a word, the Cenſors took a View of the actual Situation of the Republick, and diſtributed the People [1] among their various Tribes in ſuch a Manner, as to pre-

[1] The Plebians obtain'd, in Oppoſition to the Patricians, that the Laws and Elections of Magiſtrates ſhould be made by the People aſſembled by Tribes and not by Centuries. There were Thirty five Tribes, each of whom gave its Vote; Four belonging to the City, and Thirty one to the Country. As there were but two Profeſſions among the *Romans* that were honourable, War and Huſbandry, the Country Tribes were had in greateſt Conſideration; and the four remaining ones admitted into their Body that contemptible Part of the Citizens, who having no Lands to cultivate, were, if we may ſo ſay, but Citizens by halves; the greateſt Part of them did not even go to War, for in the enliſting of Soldiers the Diviſion of Centuries was obſerv'd; and thoſe who were Members of the four City Tribes, were very near the ſame with thoſe who in the Diviſion by Centuries were of the ſixth Claſs, in which no Perſon was enroll'd. Thus, it was ſcarce poſſible for the Suffages to be in the Hands of the populace, who were confin'd to their four Tribes; but as every one committed a thouſand Frauds, for the ſake of getting out of them, the Cenſors had an Opportunity of reforming this Abuſe every five Years; and they incorporated into any Tribe they pleas'd, not only a Citizen, but alſo Bodies and whole Orders. See the firſt Remark of Chapter XI. See alſo *Livy*, Lib. I. *Decad.* I. in which the different Diviſions of the People, made by *Servius Tullius*, are very well explain'd: 'Twas the ſame Body of the People, but divided in various Reſpects.

vent

vent the Tribunes and Perſons of an aſpiring Temper from engroſſing the Suffrages, or the People from abuſing their Power.

M. LIVIUS, [m] cenſured the People themſelves, and degraded Thirty four Tribes out of the Thirty five, to the Rank of thoſe who had no Share in the Privileges of the City; for, ſaid this *Roman*, you firſt condemned me, and afterwards rais'd me to the Conſulate and the Cenſorſhip; you therefore muſt either have prevaricated once in puniſhing me, or twice, in creating me Conſul and afterwards Cenſor.

M. DURONIUS, [n] Tribune of the People, was expell'd the Senate by the Cenſors, for having annull'd when in Office, the Law which limits the Expences of Feaſts.

The following Inſtitution was a very wiſe one; no [o] Magiſtrate could be turn'd out of his Employment, becauſe that wou'd have diſturb'd the Exerciſe of the publick Power; but they diveſted ſuch a Man of his Order and Rank, and deprived as it were, a Citizen of his particular Nobility.

The Government of *Rome* was wonderful in this Reſpect; ever ſince the Foundation of that City it's Conſtitution was ſuch, either from the Genius of the People, the Strength of the Senate, or the Authority of

[m] *Livy*. Lib. 29.
[n] *Valer. Max*. L. 2.
[o] The Dignity of Senator was not a publick Office or Imployment.

certain Magiſtrates, that every Abuſe of Power might always be reform'd therein. *Carthage* was deſtroy'd, becauſe when Abuſes were to be cut away, the Citizens could not bear the Hand even of their *Hanibal*. *Athens* fell, becauſe the Errors of the People appear'd ſo lovely in their own Eyes, that they would not be cur'd of them: and among us, thoſe *Italian* Republicks which boaſt the Perpetuity of their Government, ought to boaſt of nothing but the Perpetuity of their Abuſes; nor indeed, do they enjoy greater Liberty [a] than *Rome* did under the *Decemviri*.

The *Britiſh* Government is one of the wiſeſt in *Europe*, becauſe there is a Body which examines it perpetually, and is perpetually examining it ſelf; and it's Errors are of ſuch a Nature, as never to be laſting, but are frequently of Uſe by their rouzing the Nation.

In a Word, a free Government, that is to ſay, one for ever in Motion, cannot ſupport it ſelf, unleſs it's own Laws are capable of correcting the Diſorders of it.

[a] Nor even greater Power.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IX.

Two Cauſes which deſtroy'd ROME.

WHILST the Sovereignty of *Rome* was confin'd to *Italy*, 'twas eaſy for the Commonwealth to ſubſiſt: Every Soldier was at the ſame time a Citizen; every Conſul rais'd an Army, and other Citizens march'd into the Field under his Succeſſor: As their Forces were not very numerous, ſuch [a] Perſons only were receiv'd among the Troops, as had Poſſeſſions conſiderable enough to engage 'em to labour at the Preſervation of the City; the Senate kept a watchful Eye over the Conduct of the Generals, and did not give 'em an Opportunity of machinating any thing to the Prejudice of their Country.

But after the Legions had paſs'd the *Alps* and croſs'd the Sea, the Soldiers, whom the

[a] The Freedmen, and ſuch as were call'd *Capite cenſi*, (becauſe, being poſſeſs'd of little or nothing, they were ſubject to the Poll-Tax only) were not at firſt enroll'd among the Land-Forces, except in Caſes of urgent Neceſſity: *Servius Tullius* had rang'd 'em in the Sixth Claſs, and Soldiers were levied out of the Five firſt only: But when *Marius* ſet out againſt *Jugurtha*, he enliſted all without Diſtinction. *Milites ſcribere*, ſays *Saluſt*, *non modo majorum neque ex Claſſibus, ſed uti cujuſque libido erat capite cenſos pleroſque:*—— De Bello Jugurthin.

Romans

Romans had been oblig'd to leave during ſeveral Campaigns in the Countries they were ſubduing, loſt inſenſibly that Genius and Turn of Mind which characteriz'd the *Roman* Citizen; and the Generals having Armies and Kingdoms at their Diſpoſal, were ſenſible of their own Strength, and cou'd no longer obey.

The Soldiers therefore began to acknowledge no Superior but their General; to found their Hopes on him only, and to view the City as from a great Diſtance: They were no longer the Soldiers of the Republic, but of *Sylla*, of *Marius*, of *Pompey* and of *Cæſar*. The *Romans* cou'd no longer tell, whether the Perſon who headed an Army in a Province was their General or their Enemy.

So long as the People of *Rome* were corrupted but by their Tribunes, on whom they cou'd beſtow only their Power, the Senate cou'd eaſily defend 'emſelves, becauſe they acted conſiſtently and with one regular Tenor; whereas the common People were continually ſhifting from the Extremes of Fury to the Extremes of Cowardice; but when they were enabled to inveſt their Favourites with a formidable exterior Authority, the whole Wiſdom of the Senate was baffled, and the Commonwealth was undone.

The Reaſon why Free-States are not ſo permanent as other Forms of Government, is, becauſe the Misfortunes and Succeſſes which happen to them, generally occaſion the Loſs of Liberty; whereas the Succeſſes and Misfortunes of an arbitrary Government, contribute equally to the enſlaving of the People. A wiſe Republic ought not to run any Hazard which may expoſe it to good or ill Fortune; the only Happineſs the ſeveral Individuals of it ſhould aſpire after, is, to give Perpetuity to their State.

If the unbounded Extent of the *Roman* Empire prov'd the Ruin of the Republic, the vaſt Compaſs of the City was no leſs fatal to it.

The *Romans* had ſubdued the whole Univerſe by the Aſſiſtance of the Nations of *Italy*, on whom they had beſtow'd various Privileges at different times; moſt of thoſe Nations did not, at firſt, ſet any great Value on the Freedom of the City of *Rome*, and ſome [b] choſe rather to preſerve their ancient Uſages; but when this Privilege became that of univerſal Sovereignty; when a Man, who was not a *Roman* Citizen, was conſider'd as nothing; and, with this Title, was all

[b] The *Æqui* ſaid in their Aſſemblies, Thoſe in whoſe Power it was to chuſe, have preferred their own Laws to the Freedom of the City of *Rome*, which was a neceſſary Penalty upon ſuch as could not refuſe it. *Liv. Lib.* IX.

Things,

Things, the People of *Italy* reſolv'd either to be *Romans*, or die: Not being able to obtain this by Cabals and Intreaties, they had Recourſe to Arms; and [c] riſing in all that part of *Italy* oppoſite to the *Ionian* Sea, the reſt of the Allies were going to follow their Example. *Rome* being now forc'd to combat againſt thoſe who were, if I may be allow'd the Figure, the Hands with which they ſhackled the Univerſe, was upon the Brink of Ruin: The *Romans* were going to be confin'd merely to their Walls; they therefore granted this ſo much wiſh'd-for [d] Privilege, to Allies, who had not yet been wanting in Fidelity; and they indulg'd it, by inſenſible Degrees, to all other Nations.

But now *Rome* was no longer that City, the Inhabitants of which had breath'd one and the ſame Spirit, the ſame Love for Liberty, the ſame Hatred of Tyranny; a City, in which a Jealouſy of the Power of the Senate and of the Prerogatives of the Great, (ever accompany'd with Reſpect,) was only a Love of Equality. The Nations of *I-*

[c] The *Aſculani*, the *Marſi*, the *Veſtini*, the *Marrucini*, the *Ferentinates*, the *Hirpini*, the *Pompeians*, the *Venuſini*, the *Japiges*, the *Lucani*, the *Samnites* and other Nations. *Appian, de Bello civil. Lib.* I.

[d] The *Tuſcans*, the *Umbri*, the *Latins*. This prompted ſome Nations to ſubmit themſelves; and as theſe were alſo made Citizens, others likewiſe laid down their

taly

Italy [e] being made Citizens of *Rome*, every City brought thither its Genius, its particular Intereſts, and its Dependence on ſome mighty Protector: *Rome* being now rent and divided, no longer form'd one entire Body; and as Men were no longer Citizens of it, but in a kind of fictitious Way; as there were no longer the ſame Magiſtrates, the ſame Walls, the ſame Gods, the ſame Temples, the ſame Burying-places; *Rome* was no longer beheld with the ſame Eyes; the Citizens were no longer fir'd with the ſame Love for their Country, and the *Roman* Sentiments were obliterated.

Cities and Nations were now invited to *Rome* by the Ambitious, to diſconcert the Suffrages, or influence them in their own Favour; the publick Aſſemblies were ſo many Conſpiracies againſt the State, and a tumultuous Crowd of ſeditious Wretches were dignified with the Title of *Comitia*. The Authority of the People and their Laws, nay that People themſelves, were no more than ſo many Chimæras, and ſo univerſal was the Anarchy of thoſe Times,

Arms, ſo that at laſt there remain'd only the *Samnites*, who were extirpated.

[e] Let the Reader figure to himſelf this monſtrous Head, form'd of all the Nations of *Italy*, which, by the Suffrage of every Individual, govern'd the reſt of the World.

that

that it was not poſſible to determine whether the People had made a Law or not.

Authors enlarge very copiouſly on the Diviſions which prov'd the Deſtruction of *Rome*, but their Readers ſeldom diſcover thoſe Diviſions to have been always neceſſary and inevitable. The Grandeur of the Republick was the only Source of that Calamity, and exaſperated popular Tumults into Civil Wars. Diſſenſions were not to be prevented, and thoſe martial Spirits, which were ſo fierce and formidable abroad, could not be habituated to any conſiderable Moderation at home. Thoſe who expect in a free State, to ſee the People undaunted in War and puſillanimous in Peace, are certainly deſirous of Impoſſibilities, and it may be advanced as a general Rule, that whenever a perfect Calm is viſible, in a State that calls it ſelf a Republick, the Spirit of Liberty no longer ſubſiſts.

Union, in a Body Politick, is a very equivocal Term: True Union is ſuch a Harmony as makes all the particular Parts, as oppoſite as they may ſeem to us, concur to the general Welfare of the Society, in the ſame Manner as Diſcords in Muſick contribute to the general Melody of Sound. Union may prevail in a State full of ſeeming Commotions; or, in other Words, there may be an Harmony from whence reſults Proſperity, which alone is true Peace, and

may

may be conſider'd in the ſame View, as the various Parts of this Univerſe, which are eternally connected by the Operations of ſome and the Reactions of others.

In a Deſpotic State indeed, which is every Government where the Power is immoderately exerted, a real Diviſion is perpetually kindled. The Peaſant, the Soldier, the Merchant, the Magiſtrate and the Grandee have no other Conjunction than what ariſes from the Ability of the one to oppreſs the other, without Reſiſtance; and if at any time a Union happens to be introduced, Citizens are not then united, but dead Bodies are laid in the Grave contiguous to each other.

It muſt be acknowledged that the *Roman* Laws were too weak to govern the Republick: But Experience has prov'd it to be an invariable Fact, that good Laws which raiſe the Reputation and Power of a ſmall Republick, become incommodious to it, when once its Grandeur is eſtabliſh'd, becauſe it was their natural Effect to make a great People, but not to govern them.

The Difference is very conſiderable between good Laws, and thoſe which may be called convenient; between ſuch Laws as give a People Dominion over others, and ſuch as continue them in the Poſſeſſion of Power, when they have once acquir'd it.

There

There is at this time a Republick [f] in the World, of which few Perſons have any Knowledge, and which, by Plans accompliſh'd in Silence and Secreſy, is daily enlarging its Power. And certain it is, that if it ever riſes to that Height of Grandeur for which it ſeems preordain'd by its Wiſdom, it muſt inevitably change its Laws, and the neceſſary Innovations will not be effected by any Legiſlator, but muſt ſpring from Corruption it ſelf.

Rome was founded for Grandeur, and its Laws [g] had an admirable Tendency to beſtow it; for which Reaſon, in all the Variations of her Government, whether Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, or Popular, ſhe conſtantly engag'd in Enterprizes which required Conduct to accompliſh, and always ſucceeded. The Experience of a Day did not furniſh her with more Wiſdom than all other Nations, but ſhe obtain'd it by a long Succeſſion of Events. She ſuſtain'd a ſmall, a moderate, and an immenſe Fortune with the ſame Su-

[f] The Canton of *Bern*.

[g] The *Roman* Government has been thought defective by ſome, becauſe it was an Intermixture of Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, and popular Authority. But the Perfection of a Government does not conſiſt in its Conformity to any particular Plan to be found in the Writings of Politicians, but in its Correſpondence to the Views every Legiſlator ought to entertain for the Grandeur and Felicity of a People. Was not the Government of *Sparta* compos'd of Three Branches?

periority,

periority, derived true Welfare from the whole Train of her Proſperities, and refined every Inſtance of Calamity into beneficial Inſtructions.

She loſt her Liberty, becauſe ſhe compleated her Work too ſoon.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Corruption of the ROMANS.

I AM of Opinion that the Sect of *Epicurus*, which began to be propagated at *Rome*, towards the Cloſe of the Republic, was very prejudicial to the Minds and Genius of the People[a]. The *Greeks* had been infatuated with its Doctrines long before, and conſequently, were corrupted much earlier than the *Romans*. We are aſſured by *Polybius*, [b] that Oaths, in his Time,

[a] *Cyneas* having diſcourſed of the Doctrines of this Sect, at the Table of *Pyrrhus*, *Fabricius* ſaid, he wiſh'd the Enemies of *Rome* would all embrace ſuch kind of Principles. *Life of* Pyrrhus.

[b] If you lend a Talent to a *Greek*, and bind him to the Repayment, by Ten Engagements, with as many Securities, and Witneſſes to the Loan, it is impoſſible to make them regard their Word; whereas, among the *Romans*, whether it be owing to their Obligation of accounting for the public and private Money, they are always punctual to the Oaths they have taken. For which Reaſon, the Apprehenſions of infernal Torments were wiſely eſtabliſhed, and it is altogether irrational to oppoſe them at this Time. *Polyb. l.* VI.

could

could not induce any Perſon to place Confidence in a *Greek*, whereas they were conſider'd by a *Roman* as inviolable Obligations upon his Conſcience.

There is a Paſſage in one of *Cicero*'s Letters to [c] *Atticus*, which manifeſtly diſcovers how much the *Romans* had degenerated in this Particular, ſince the Time of *Polybius*.

Memmius, ſays he, imparted to the Senate the Agreement he and his Fellow Candidate had made with the Conſuls, by which theſe ſtipulated to favour the others in their Sollicitations for the Conſulſhip the enſuing Year; and theſe oblig'd themſelves to pay Four hundred thouſand Seſterces to the Conſuls, if they did not furniſh them with Three Augurs, who ſhould declare they themſelves were preſent when the People made the *Curiatian* Law [d], tho' in reality it had not been enacted; and Two former Conſuls, who ſhould affirm they had aſſiſted at ſigning the Edict of the Senate which regulated the State of the Provinces aſſigned to the preſent Conſuls, notwith-

[c] *Lib.* IV. *let.* 18.

[d] The *Curiatian* Law diſpos'd of the military Power, and the Edict of the Senate regulated the Troops, the Money and Officers, that were to be allotted to the Governors: Now the Conſuls, in order to accompliſh theſe Particulars, to their own Satisfaction, contriv'd a falſe Law and a falſe Edict of the Senate.

ſtanding

ſtanding no ſuch Edict was in Being. What an admirable Set of People do we diſcover in a ſingle Contract!

As Religion always furniſhes the beſt Security for the Rectitude of human Actions, ſo there was this Peculiarity among the *Romans*, that the Love they expreſs'd for their Country, was blended with ſome particular Sentiment of Devotion. That mighty City, founded in the moſt auſpicious Period; the Great *Romulus*, at once their Monarch and their God; the Capitol, eſteem'd as eternal as the City, and the City, reputed as eternal as its Founder, had anciently ſtruck ſuch Impreſſions on the Minds of the *Romans*, as might well be wiſh'd to have been conſtantly retained.

The Grandeur of the State, in general, conſtituted the Greatneſs of its particular Members; but as Affluence conſiſts in Conduct, and not in Riches; that Wealth of the *Romans*, which had certain Limitations, introduced a Luxury and Profuſion which had no Bounds. Thoſe who had been at firſt corrupted by their Oppulence, receiv'd the ſame Taint in their Poverty, by aſpiring after Acquiſitions, that no way comported with private Life; it was difficult to be a good Citizen, under the Influence of ſtrong Deſires and the Regret of a large Fortune that had been loſt: People, in this Situation,

tion, were prepar'd for any deſperate Attempt; and as *Saluſt* [e] ſays, there was, at that time, a Generation of Men, who, as they had no Patrimony of their own, could not endure to ſee others leſs neceſſitous than themſelves.

But as great ſoever as the Corruption of *Rome* might then be, all its calamitous Effects were not introduc'd among the People, for the Efficacy of thoſe Inſtitutions, by which they were originally eſtabliſh'd, was ſo extraordinary, that they always preſerved an heroic Fortitude, and devoted themſelves, with the greateſt Application, to War, amidſt all the Softenings of Luxury and Pleaſure; which ſeems, to me, to be a Circumſtance, in which they were never imitated by any Nation in the World.

The *Romans* were not ſollicitous to improve Commerce, or cultivate the Sciences, but ranked them among the Attentions proper for Slaves [f]; we may except, indeed,

[e] *Ut merito dicatur genitos eſſe, qui nec ipſi habere poſſent vos familiares, nec alios pati.* Fragment of *Saluſt* cited by *Auguſtin* in his Book *Of the City of God*, *L.* II. *c.* 18.

[f] Cic. L. I. c. 42 Offic. *Illiberales & ſordidi quæſtus Mercenariorum omnium quorum operæ, non quorum artes emuntur: eſt enim illis ipſa merces auctoramentum ſervitutis.* The Merchants, adds that Author, raiſe no Profit, unleſs they falſify their Word. Agriculture is the

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ſome particular Perſons, who had receiv'd their Freedom, and perſiſted in their former Induſtry. But their Knowledge, in general, was confin'd to the Art of War, which was the only Track [g] by which they could arrive at Promotions in the Magiſtracy, and other Stations of Honour; for which Reaſon, their military Virtues ſubſiſted after all the reſt were extinguiſhed.

nobleſt of all Arts, and moſt worthy of a Man in a State of Freedom.

[g] They were obliged to ſerve Ten Years, between the Age of Sixteen Years and Forty Seven. *Polyb. L.* VI.

CHAPTER XI.

Of SYLLA, POMPEY *and* CÆSAR.

I Intreat the Reader's Permiſſion to turn my Eyes from the Horrors of the Wars between *Marius* and *Sylla*; *Appian* has collected all the dreadful Particulars into his Hiſtory: Beſides the Jealouſy, Ambition and Barbarity of the Two Chiefs, each particular *Roman* was infatuated with Fury; the new Citizens[a], and the ancient, no longer conſider'd each other as Members of the ſame Republick, but gave a Looſe to a Series of Hoſtilities, ſo peculiar in their Nature, as to comprehend all the Miſeries of a Civil and Foreign War.

Sylla made ſeveral good Laws, and reduced the Power of the Tribunes; to which we may add, that the Moderation or Caprice which induced him to reſign the Dictatorſhip, re-eſtabliſhed the Senate, for

[a] *Marius*, in order to obtain a Commiſſion for carrying on the War againſt *Mithridates*, in Prejudice of *Sylla*'s Pretenſions, had, by the Concurrence of *Sulpicius* the Tribune, incorporated the Eight new Tribes of the People of *Italy*, into the ancient, which rendred the *Italians* Maſters of the Suffrages; and the Generality of that People eſpouſed the Party of *Marius*, whilſt the Senate and the ancient Citizens engag'd in the Intereſt of *Sylla*.

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ſome time; but, in the Fury of his Succeſs, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be hurried into Two Actions, which, in their Conſequences, made it impoſſible for *Rome* to preſerve her Liberty.

He diſtributed [b] the Lands of the Citizens among his Soldiers, and, by that Proceeding, corrupted them for ever; becauſe, from that Moment, there was not one of the military Profeſſion who did not wait for an Opportunity of ſeizing the Effects of his Fellow-Citizens.

He was likewiſe the Inventor of Proſcriptions, and ſet a Price on the Head of every Man who had not embrac'd his Party. From that time, it became impoſſible for any one to be devoted to the Republic; for whilſt two ambitious Men were contending for Superiority, thoſe who obſerv'd a Neutrality, or were attach'd to the Cauſe of Liberty, were ſure to be proſcrib'd by either of the Competitors who ſhould prove victorious; it therefore became prudent to engage in one of the two Parties.

As the Republick was fated to Deſtruction, the only material Queſtion was, who ſhould have the Credit of overwhelming it.

[b] At the Beginning of the Wars, the Lands of the vanquiſh'd Enemies were parcell'd among the Army, but *Sylla* made the ſame Diviſion of thoſe which belong'd to the Citizens.

Two Men equally ambitious, with this Exception, that the one knew how to proceed directly to his Purpoſe better than the other, eclipſed, by their Reputation, their Exploits and their Virtues, all the reſt of the Citizens. *Pompey* made the firſt Appearance in the Scene of Action, and *Cæſar* immediately follow'd him.

POMPEY, to render himſelf popular, had diſannulled the Laws of *Sylla* which limitted the Power of the People, and when he had ſacrificed the moſt ſalutary Laws of his Country, to his particular Ambition, he obtain'd all he deſired, and the raſh Indiſcretion of the Populace was altogether unbounded in his Favour.

The *Roman* Laws had wiſely parcell'd out the public Power into ſeveral Magiſtracies, which mutually ſupported as well as reſtrained and tempered each other; and as the Power of all, who enjoy'd thoſe Promotions, was confin'd to a proper Extent, every Citizen was qualify'd for a Station of that Nature; and the People, ſeeing Numbers of ſuch Perſons paſſing away in Succeſſion, were not habituated to any particular Magiſtrate among them. But, in the Times we are now deſcribing, the Plan of Government was changed; the moſt potent Competitors obtain'd extraordinary Commiſſions from the People, which annihilated the Authority of the Magiſtrates, and drew

drew all the great Affairs into the Hands of one Man, or a Few.

Was War to be proclaim'd againſt *Sertorius? Pompey* was nominated to command the Army. Were the *Romans* to march againſt *Mithridates?* Every Voice called aloud for *Pompey*. Did it become neceſſary to tranſmit Corn to *Rome?* The People would have given it over for loſt, had not *Pompey* been entruſted with the Importation. Were the Pyrates to be deſtroy'd? Who ſo proper for that Expedition as *Pompey?* And when *Cæſar* himſelf threatned *Rome* with an Invaſion, the Senators cried out, in their Turn, and placed all their Confidence in *Pompey*.

I am willing to believe (ſaid *Marcus* [c] to the People) that this *Pompey*, who is ſo much careſs'd by the Nobility, is more inclinable to ſecure your Liberty, than he is to countenance their Authority over you: But there was a Time, when each Individual among you was protected by ſeveral, and not the whole Body of the People by one Perſon; and when it was never known, that a ſingle Man either gave or took away Things of ſo much Conſequence.

As *Rome* was form'd for Grandeur, it became neceſſary to unite the Honours and Power in the ſame Perſons, which in un-

[c] Fragment of *Saluſt.*

quiet Times would fix the Admiration of the People on one particular Citizen.

When Honours are granted, the Givers know exactly what they beſtow; but when Power is added to the Donation, they can never be certain how far it will be extended.

Immoderate Preferences given to a Citizen, in a Republick, are always productive of neceſſary Effects; they either raiſe Envy in the People, or make their Affection overflow all Bounds.

When *Pompey* returned twice to *Rome*, in a Condition to enſlave the Republick, he had the Moderation to diſband his Armies, before he entered the City; and then he made his Appearance with the Air of a common Citizen: Theſe Inſtances of a diſintereſted Behaviour, which compleated all his Glory, did not fail, in their Conſequences, to make the Senate always declare in his Favour, when ever he attempted any Thing prejudicial to the Laws.

The Ambition of *Pompey* was more unactive and gentle than that of *Cæſar*. This Warriour reſolved like *Sylla*, to open himſelf a Paſſage to ſovereign Power, by Arms, but *Pompey* grew diſpleaſed at ſuch a Method of Oppreſſion; he aſpired, indeed, to the Dictatorſhip, but was willing to owe it to the Suffrages of the People; he could not reſolve to uſurp Power, but would have been

been glad to have had it tendered to him as a Gift.

As the Favour of the People is always in a fluctuating State, there were ſome Seaſons, wherein *Pompey* beheld his Reputation in a declining Condition; [d] and it affected him in the moſt tender Part, to ſee the very Perſons he deſpiſed, make Advances in Popularity, and then employ it againſt him.

This led him into three Actions equally fatal; he corrupted the People with Money, and fixed a Price, in the Elections, on the Suffrage of each Citizen.

He employed the vileſt of the Populace to incommode the Magiſtrates, in the Exerciſe of their Functions, in Hopes, that wiſe People, growing weary of living in a State of Anarchy, would be urged by Deſpair to create him Dictator.

In a Word, he united his Intereſts, with thoſe of *Cæſar* and *Craſſus: Cato* ſaid, their Union and not their Enmity deſtroyed the Republick; and in Reality, it was then reduced to ſuch an unhappy State, that it received leſs Injury from civil Wars than by a Peace which, as it conjoined the Views and Intereſts of the leading Men, ſo it naturally introduced Tyranny in the Government.

[d] See *Plutarch.*

Pompey did not properly lend his Reputation to *Cæſar*, but ſacrificed it to his Cauſe, without knowing what he did; and *Cæſar*, in return, employed all the Power he had received from *Pompey* to the Prejudice of the Donor, and even played off his own Artifices againſt him: He diſordered the City by his Emiſſaries; he made himſelf Maſter of all Elections; and Conſuls, Prætors and Tribunes purchaſed their Promotions, at their own Price.

The Senate, who eaſily penetrated into *Cæſar's* Deſigns, had Recourſe to *Pompey*, and intreated him to undertake the Defence of the Republick, if that Name might properly be given to a Government which implored Protection of one of its Citizens.

I am of Opinion, that what contributed moſt to *Pompey's* Deſtruction, was the Shame that affected him, when he grew ſenſible that by raiſing *Cæſar* as he had done, he had committed a fatal Overſight; but he ſuffered this Conſideration to prevail as late as poſſible, and did not prepare for his Defence, leſt he ſhould be obliged to acknowledge himſelf in Danger. He aſſerted before the Senate that *Cæſar* durſt not engage in a War, and becauſe he had made ſuch a Declaration ſeveral Times, he always perſiſted in repeating it.

One Circumſtance ſeems to have capacitated *Cæſar* for any undertaking, and that

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was the unhappy Conformity of Names; the Senate had added to his Goverment of the *Ciſalpine Gaul*, all that Part of *Gaul* which was diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Tranſalpine*.

As the Politicks of thoſe Times did not permit Armies to be ſtationed near *Rome*, ſo neither would they ſuffer *Italy* to be entirely deſtitute of Troops; for which Reaſon, conſiderable Forces were quartered in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, a Country which extends from the *Rubicon*, a little River in *Romania*, to the Alps: But in Order to ſecure the City of *Rome* againſt thoſe Troops, the Senate paſſed that famous Edict, which is ſtill to be ſeen engraven, in the Road near *Rimini*, by which they ſolemnly devoted to the infernal Gods, and branded with Sacrilege and Parricide any Perſon whatever, who ſhould preſume to paſs the *Rubicon*, with an Army, a Legion, or a ſingle Cohort.

To a Government of that Importance as to keep the City in awe, another was added which proved ſtill more conſiderable, and that was all the *Tranſalpine Gaul*, which comprehended the Southern Parts of *France*, where *Cæſar* had for ſeveral Years an Opportunity of proſecuting War againſt as many Nations as he pleaſed; by which means his Soldiers advanced in Years as well as himſelf, and were conquered by him, in their Turn, as well as the *Barbarians*. Had *Cæ-*

ſar not been intruſted with the Government of *Tranſalpine Gaul*, he could not have corrupted his Troops, nor rendered his Name venerable to them by ſo many Victories; and had he not enjoyed *Ciſalpine Gaul*, *Pompey* might have ſtop'd him at the Paſs of the *Alps*, whereas he was compelled to retire from *Italy*, when the War began, which made him loſe among his own Party that Reputation which, in Civil Wars, is the very Soul of Power.

The ſame Conſternation, which *Hannibal* diffuſed through *Rome*, after the Battle of *Cannæ*, was ſpread by *Cæſar* over all that City, when he had paſſed the *Rubicon*. *Pompey* was ſo confounded, that he became incapable, even in the firſt Moments of the War, of forming any Deſign but ſuch as is uſually ſuggeſted in the moſt deſperate Conjunctures. He could only retire, and truſt to Flight. Accordingly he left *Rome* and the publick Treaſure; and as he was in no Condition to retard the Conqueror, he forſook Part of his Troops, abandoned all *Italy* and croſſed the Sea.

Cæſar's Fortune has been greatly celebrated; but this extraordinary Man enjoyed ſo many great Qualities, without the Intermixture of a Defect, tho' he had ſeveral vicious Inclinations, that he would have been victorious at the Head of any Army he had commanded, and would have govern

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ed in any Republick that had given him Birth.

When he had defeated *Pompey's* Lieutenants in *Spain*, he paſſed into *Greece* to ſeek *Pompey* himſelf; and this General, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of the Sea Coaſts, and was Maſter of a ſuperiour Force, was on the Point of beholding *Cæſar's* Army deſtroyed by Miſery and Famine. But as the Deſire of Approbation was his predominant Frailty he could not forbear giving Attention to ſome vain Speeches [e] of thoſe about him, who were perpetually blaming his Conduct, and mortifying him with their Jeſts. This General, ſays one, would perpetuate his Command, and be a new King of Kings, like *Agamemnon:* I aſſure you, replies another, we ſhall not eat any *Tuſculum* Figs this Year. A few Encounters in which he had ſucceeded, quite intoxicated the Heads of this Senatorial Hoſt; and *Pompey*, to avoid Cenſure, gave into an Indiſcretion which Poſterity will ever blame; he reſolved to ſacrifice all the Advantages he had then obtain'd, and marched at the Head of undiſciplined Troops to engage an Army that had been ſo frequently victorious.

When the ſhattered Remains of *Pharſalia*, were withdrawn into *Africa*, *Scipio*,

[e] See *Plutarch's* Life of *Pompey*.

who then commanded them, refuſed to follow *Cato*'s Advice for protracting the War. He grew elated with a few Inſtances of Succeſs; he riſk'd all, and immediately loſt all he had riſk'd; and when *Brutus* and *Caſſius* reeſtabliſhed that Party, the ſome Precipitation deſtroyed the Republick a third Time [f].

'Tis obſervable, that in the long Courſe of theſe Civil Wars, the Power of *Rome* was continually extending in foreign Parts, under *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, *Cæſar*, *Anthony*, and *Auguſtus*; and that mighty City, growing daily more formidable, compleated the Deſtruction of all the Kings who preſumed to reſiſt her.

No State threatens its Neighbours with Conqueſt, ſo much as that which is involved in the Horrors of Civil War: In ſuch a Seaſon, the Nobility, the Citizens, the Artiſans, the Peaſants, and, in ſhort, the whole Body of the People become Soldiers; and when Peace has united all the contending Parties, this State enjoys great Advantages over others, whoſe Subjects are generally Citizens. Beſides, Civil Wars always produce great Men, becauſe, in the univerſal Confuſion which then reigns, thoſe who

[f] This is well cleared up in *Appian's* Hiſtory of the Civil War. l. 4. The Army of *Octavius* and *Anthony* would have periſhed by Famine, if their Enemies had not given them Battle.

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are diſtinguiſhed by any particular Merit, have a favourable Opportunity of making themſelves conſpicuous: Each of theſe Perſons ranges himſelf in a ſuitable Situation, whereas, in Times of Peace, they are ſtationed by others, and generally very injudiciouſly. We ſhall paſs from the *Romans*, and inquire for Inſtances of this Truth, in Nations that are more modern; and among theſe, *France* was never ſo formidable abroad, as after the Contentions between the Houſes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*, after the Troubles of the League, after the Civil Wars in the Minority of *Lewis* the thirteenth, and after the national Diſſenſions in the Nonage of *Lewis* the Fourteenth. *England* was never ſo much reſpected as in the Time of *Cromwell*, after the Wars of the long Parliament. The *Germans* did not gain their Superiority over the *Turks*, till after the Civil Wars of the Empire. The *Spaniards*, under *Philip* the Fifth, and immediately after the Civil Wars that were kindled by the Succeſſion, invaded *Sicily* with ſuch a Force as aſtoniſhed all *Europe*; and we now ſee the *Perſians* riſing from the Aſhes of a Civil War, and humbling the *Ottoman* Power.

In a Word, the Republick was at laſt enſlaved, and we are not to charge that Calamity on the Ambition of particular Perſons, but ſhould rather impute it to the Diſpo-

Diſpoſition of Man in general, whoſe cravings after Power, are always moſt inſatiable, when he enjoys the greateſt Share, and who only deſires the whole, becauſe he poſſeſſes a large Part.

If the Sentiments of *Cæſar* and *Pompey* had reſembled thoſe of *Cato*, others would have had the ſame ambitious Thoughts as *Pompey* and *Cæſar* diſcovered; and ſince the Republick was fated to fall, it would have been dragged to the Precipice by ſome other Hand.

Cæſar pardon'd every mortal; but the Moderation People diſcover when they have uſurped all, ſeems to be no extraordinary Accompliſhment.

Tho' he has been much commended for being indefatigable, after the Battle of *Pharſalia*, yet *Cicero*, very juſtly, accuſes him of Remiſſneſs. He tells *Caſſius* [g] they never could have imagined *Pompey's* Party would have revived ſo conſiderably in *Spain* and *Africa*; and that if they could have foreſeen that *Cæſar* would have amuſed himſelf in his *Alexandrian* War, they would not have made their Peace with him as they did, but would have followed *Scipio* and *Cato* into *Africa*. And thus a weak Paſſion for a Woman made him engage in four Wars, and by not foreſeeing the two laſt,

[g] Familiar Letters, l. 15.

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he hazarded all he had gained at *Pharſalia*.

Cæſar governed at firſt, with the Titles of the Magiſtracy, for nothing affects Mankind more than Names; and as the *Aſiaticks* abhorred thoſe of Conſul and Proconſul, the *Europeans* deteſted that of King; ſo that thoſe Titles conſtituted at that Time, the Happineſs or Deſpair of all the Earth. He made ſome Overtures to have the Diadem placed on his Head; but when he grew ſenſible that the People diſcontinued their Acclamations, he thought fit to reject it. He likewiſe made other Attempts, [h] and it is not to be comprehended, how he could believe that the *Romans*, becauſe they ſuffered him to be a Tyrant, ſhould be fond of Tyrannical Power, or could even give credit to what they themſelves had done.

One Day, when the Senate tendered him ſome particular Honours, he neglected to riſe from his Seat, and, from that Moment, the graveſt Members of that Body loſt all Patience.

Mankind are always moſt offended at any Treſpaſs on the Ceremonials and Punctilios they expect. If you endeavour to oppreſs them, it ſometimes paſſes for a Proof of the Eſteem you entertain for them, but

[h] He abolished the Office of Tribunes of the People.

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a Violation of their Decorums is always an Inſtance of Contempt.

Cæſar, who was a conſtant Enemy to the Senate, could not conceal the mean Opinion he entertained of that Body, who had almoſt rendered themſelves ridiculous [i], when they were no longer in Poſſeſſion of Power: For which Reaſon even his Clemency was an Inſult, and it became evident that he only pardoned becauſe he ſcorned to puniſh.

We may ſee, in the Letters [k] of ſome great Men of that Time, tho' they paſs'd under *Cicero's* Name, becauſe moſt of them were written by him, into what Dejection and Deſpair Perſons of the firſt Rank in the Republick, were ſunk by this ſudden Revolution, which diveſted them of their Honours and even their Employments;

[i] *Cæſar* formed the Edicts of the Senate himſelf and ſubſcribed them with the Names of the firſt Senators he happened to think on. *Cicero*, in the ninth Book of his familiar Letters, writes to this Effect. I having been ſometimes informed that an Edict of the Senate, paſſed by my Conſent has been tranſmitted to *Syria* and *Armenia*, before I had any Knowledge that it was made, and ſeveral Princes have ſent me Letters of Acknowledgment for my Conſent, to allow them the Title of Kings, when at the ſame time, I was ſo far from knowing them to be Kings, till that Moment, that I even had not heard there were any ſuch Perſons in the World.

[k] See the Letters of *Cicero* and *Servius Sulpicius*.

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when the Senate having no longer any Functions to perform, that Reputation they had acquired through all the World, was now to be diſpenſed from the Cabinet of one Man. This State of Affairs appears in a much better Light in thoſe Letters, than in any Relations of Hiſtorians, and they are the moſt maſterly Repreſentation of the ingenuous Turn of Mind of a ſet of People united by a common Affliction, and give us a compleat Portrait of an Age wherein a falſe Politeneſs had not infected all Society with Inſincerity and Untruth. In a Word, they are not written, like our Modern Letters, with a View to deceive, but are the faithful Intercourſe of Friends who communicated all they knew.

It was hardly poſſible for *Cæſar*, in his Situation, to preſerve his Life: The Generality of the Conſpirators againſt him, were of his Party [1], or had received many great Obligations from him, and the Reaſon of their Intention to aſſaſſinate him, is very natural; they had gain'd ſignal Advantages by his Conqueſt, but the more their Fortune improved, the greater was their Share of the common Calamity; and to thoſe who have not any thing they can properly call

[1] *Decimus Brutus, Caius Caſca, Trebonius, Tullius Cimber, Minutius Baſillus* were *Cæſar's* Friends. *Appian. de bello civili.* l. 2.

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their own, it ſeems in ſome Particulars, to be of little Conſequence under what Government they live.

Beſides, there was a certain Law of Nations, or a ſettled Opinion which prevailed in all the Republicks of *Greece* and *Italy*, and aſcribed the Character of a vertuous Man to the Perſon who ſhould aſſaſſinate any one who had uſurped the ſovereign Power. *Rome* had been extremely fond of this Notion, ever ſince the Expulſion of her Kings; the Law was very expreſs; the Examples had a general Approbation; the Republick put a Sword into the Hand of every Citizen, conſtituted him their Magiſtrate for a few Moments, and acknowledged him for their Defender.

Brutus [m] was bold enough to tell his Friends, that ſhould his own Father return from the Grave, he would ſacrifice him to the publick good, with as little Remorſe as he ſtab'd *Cæſar*; and tho' by the Continuance of Tyranny, this ſurprizing Spirit of Liberty had gradually loſt its Vigour, yet the Conſpiracies, at the beginning of *Auguſtus*'s Reign, were perpetually reviving.

The ancient *Romans* were animated by a predominant Love for their Country,

[m] See the Letter of *Brutus* in the Collection of *Cicero*'s Letters.

which

which acting by a Variation from the common Ideas of Crimes and Vertues, was only attentive to its own Dictates, and in the Fervours of its Operation, entirely disregarded Friends and Citizens, Fathers and Benefactors. Vertue seemed to have forgotten her own Precepts with a Resolution to surpass her self, and when an Action seemed too severe to be immediately considered with Approbation, she soon caused it to be admired as divine.

In a Word, did not the Guilt of *Cæsar*, who lived in a free Government, consist in placing himself out of the reach of all Punishments but an Assassination? And when we ask why he was not opposed by open Force, or the Power of the Laws, do we not at the same Time demand Satisfaction for his Crimes?

CHAP.

CHAPTER XII.

Obſervations on the State of ROME *after the Death of* Cæſar.

SO impoſſible was it for the Republick to accompliſh its Reeſtabliſhment, that a Conjuncture then happened which was never known before; there was no longer any Tyrant, and yet Liberty was extinguiſhed; for the Cauſes which had contributed to its Deſtruction, ſtill ſubſiſted to prevent its Revival.

The *Aſſaſſins* had only formed the Plan of a Conſpiracy, but had not taken any Meaſures to render it effectual in the Event.

When they had ſtruck the Blow, they all retired to the Capitol; the Senate forbore to aſſemble, and the next Day *Lepidus*, who was fond of Commotions, took Poſſeſſion of the *Forum*, with a Band of Soldiers at his Devotion.

The *Veteran* Troops, who were apprehenſive that the immenſe Donations they had received, would be no longer repeated, had marched into *Rome:* This Proceeding compelled the Senate to approve all the Acts of *Cæſar*, and then, by a Faculty of reconciling Extremes, they granted a general

ral Amneſty to the Conſpirators, which produced a falſe Appearance of Peace.

Cæſar, a little before his Death, whilſt he was preparing for his Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, had appointed Magiſtrates for ſeveral Years, that he might ſecure himſelf a Set of Men who, in his Abſence, would maintain the Tranquillity of his Government; ſo that, after his Death, the Party who had eſpouſed his Intereſt, were in a Condition to ſupport themſelves for a conſiderable Time.

As the Senate had ratified all the Acts of *Cæſar* without any Reſtriction, and as the Conſuls were intruſted with their Execution, *Anthony* who was then one of thoſe Magiſtrates, got Poſſeſſion of *Cæſar's* Book of Accounts, gained upon his Secretary, and made him inſert, in that Book, all the Articles he thought proper, by which means the Dictator reigned more imperiouſly than when he was living; for what he could not accompliſh himſelf, *Anthony* had the Dexterity to effect; great Sums of Money, which *Cæſar* had never beſtowed, were diſtributed among the People by *Anthony*, and every Man who had any ſeditious Deſigns againſt the Government, was ſure to find a ſudden Gratuity in *Cæſar's* Books.

It unfortunately happened that *Cæſar*, to make his Expedition effectual, had amaſs'd

maſs'd prodigious Sums, and depoſited them in the Temple of *Ops*; *Anthony* diſpoſed of theſe as he thought fit, by the Inſtrumentality of his Book.

The Conſpirators had, at firſt, determined to caſt the Body of *Cæſar* into the *Tyber*[n], and might have executed that Deſign without any Interruption; for in thoſe Seaſons of Aſtoniſhment which ſucceed unexpected Events, every Intention becomes practicable: This however did not take Exfect, and we ſhall now relate what happened on that Occaſion.

The Senate thought themſelves under a Neceſſity of permitting *Cæſar*'s Funeral Obſequies to be perform'd; and indeed they could not decently forbid them, as they had never declar'd him a Tyrant. Now the *Romans*, in Conformity to a Cuſtom eſtabliſh'd among them, and much boaſted of by *Polybius*, always carried, in their Funeral Proceſſions, the Images which repreſented the Anceſtors of the Deceas'd, and made an Oration over the Body. *Anthony*, who charg'd himſelf with this laſt Province, unfolded the bloody Robe of *Cæſar* to the View of all the People, read to them the Particulars of his Will, in which he had

[n] That Action would not have been unprecedented; for when *Tiberius Gracchus* was ſlain, *Lucretius* the Edile, who was afterwards called *Veſpillo*, threw his Body into the *Tyber*. *Aurel. Victor. de Viris illuſt.*

left

left them extraordinary Legacies, and then wrought them into ſuch violent Emotions, that they immediately fired the Houſes of the Conſpirators.

Cicero, who govern'd the Senate in this whole Affair[o], makes no Scruple to acknowledge that it would have been much better to have proceeded with Vigour, and even to have expos'd themſelves to Deſtruction, tho' indeed it was not probable that ſuch a Fate would have attended them; but he alledges for his Excuſe, that as the Senate was then aſſembled, they had no Opportunity in their Favour; and he adds, that thoſe who are ſenſible of the Importance even of a Moment, in Affairs wherein the People have ſo conſiderable a Part, will not be ſurpriz'd at his Conduct in that Tranſaction.

Another Accident happen'd at this time; for when the People were celebrating Funeral Games in Honour to *Cæſar*, a Comet with long flaming Hair, appear'd for the ſpace of Seven Days, which made them believe the Soul of *Cæſar* was receiv'd into Heaven.

It was very cuſtomary for the People of *Greece* and *Aſia*, to erect Temples[p] to the

[o] Letters to *Atticus*, Lib. XIV. c. 6.

[p] See more on this Subject, in the Letters of *Cicero* to *Atticus*, *L.* V. and the Remark of the *Abbé de Mongaut.*

Kings,

Kings, and even the Proconſuls who had govern'd them; and they were indulg'd in this Practice, becauſe it was the greateſt Evidence they could poſſibly give of their abject Servitude. Nay the *Romans* themſelves might, in their private Temples where their *Lares* were depoſited, render divine Honours to their Anceſtors; but I cannot remember, that from the Time of *Romulus* to *Julius Cæſar*, any *Roman*[q] was ever rank'd among the Gods of the Republick.

The Government of *Macedonia* was aſſign'd to *Anthony*, but he was deſirous of changing it for that of *Gaul*, and the Motives which ſo induced him are very evident: *Decimus Brutus*, who govern'd *Ciſalpine Gaul*, having refus'd to reſign that Province to *Anthony*, he was reſolv'd to deprive him of it by Force. This produc'd a Civil War, in which the Senate declar'd *Anthony* an Enemy to his Country.

Cicero, to accompliſh the Deſtruction of *Anthony* his mortal Enemy, was ſo injudicious as to employ all his Intereſt for the Promotion of *Octavius*, and inſtead of defacing the Idea of One *Cæſar* in the Minds of the People, he placed Two before their Eyes.

[q] *Dion* relates that the *Triumviri*, who all expected the ſame Deification, took all imaginable Care to enlarge the Honours paid to *Cæſar*.

Octa-

Octavius, in his Conduct to *Cicero*, acted like a Man who knew the World; he flatter'd, he prais'd, he conſulted him, and employ'd every engaging Artifice, which Vanity never diſtruſts.

Great Affairs are frequently diſconcerted, becauſe thoſe who undertake them ſeldom confine their Expectations to the principal Event, but look after ſome little particular Succeſs which ſooths the indulgent Opinion they entertain of themſelves.

I am inclin'd to think, that if *Cato* had reſerv'd himſelf for the Republick, he would have given a very different Turn to Affairs. *Cicero* had extraordinary Abilities for the Second Claſs, but was incapable of the Firſt. His Genius was fine, but his Soul ſeldom ſoar'd above the Vulgar. His Characteriſtiſtic was Virtue; that of *Cato* Glory[f]. *Cicero* always beheld himſelf in the Firſt Rank; *Cato* never allow'd his Merit a Place in his Remembrance. This Man would have preſerv'd the Republick for its own Sake; the other, that he might have boaſted of the Action.

I might carry on the Parallel by adding, that when *Cato* foreſaw, *Cicero* was intimidated; and when the former hoped, the latter

[f] *Eſſe quam videri bonus malebat; itaque quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis illam aſſequebatur.* Salluſt. bell. Catil.

was confident. *Cato* beheld things through a ſerene Medium; *Cicero* view'd them thro' a Glare of little Paſſions.

Anthony was defeated at *Modena*, where the Two Conſuls, *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, loſt their Lives: The Senate, who thought themſelves ſuperior to their tumultuous Affairs, began to think of humbling *Octavius*, who now ceas'd his Hoſtilities againſt *Anthony*, march'd his Army to *Rome*, and caus'd himſelf to be declar'd Conſul.

In this manner did *Cicero*, who boaſted that his Robe had cruſh'd the Arms of *Anthony*, introduce an Enemy into the Republick, the more formidable becauſe his Name was much dearer to the People, and his Pretenſions, to all Appearance, better founded [s].

Anthony, after his Overthrow, retired into *Tranſalpine Gaul*, where he was receiv'd by *Lepidus*; theſe two Men entred into an Aſſociation with *Octavius*, and reciprocally offer'd each other the Lives of their Friends and Enemies [t]. *Lepidus* continu'd at *Rome*, whilſt the other Two went in Search of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and found them in thoſe Parts where the Empire of the World was thrice contended for in Battle.

[s] He was *Cæſar*'s Heir, and his Son by Adoption.

[t] So inveterate was their Cruelty, that they commanded every Individual among the People to rejoice at the Proſcriptions on pain of Death. *Dion.*

Brutus

Brutus and *Caſſius* kill'd themſelves with a Precipitation not to be vindicated; and it is impoſſible to read this Period of their Lives, without pitying the Republic which was ſo abandon'd. *Cato* clos'd the Tragedy with his own Murder; and theſe, in ſome meaſure, open'd it with their Deaths.

Several Cauſes may be aſſign'd for this Cuſtom of Self-Deſtruction, which ſo generally prevail'd among the *Romans*; the Progreſs of Stoiciſm which encourag'd it; the Eſtabliſhment of Triumphs and Slavery, which induced ſeveral great Men to believe they ought not to ſurvive a Defeat; the Advantages accruing to the Accuſed, who deſtroy'd themſelves rather than they would ſubmit to the Judgment of a Tribunal, by which their Memory was to be branded with Infamy [u], and their Goods given up to Confiſcation; a Point of Honour, more rational perhaps, than that which now ſpirits us to ſtab our Friend for an unpleaſing Geſture or Expreſſion; in a word, the commodious Effect [v] of Heroiſm, which permitted any one to finiſh the Part he act-

[u] *Eorum qui de ſe ſtatuebant, humabantur corpora, manebant teſtamenta, pretium feſtinandi.* Tacit. Annal. L. VI.

[v] If *Charles* I. and *James* II. had been educated in a Religion which would have permitted them to deſtroy themſelves, the one would not have ſubmitted to ſuch a Death, nor the other to ſuch a Life.

ed on the Stage of the World, in what Scene he pleaſed.

We might add, the great Facility which attended the Execution of ſuch a Deſign; the Soul always attentive to the Action ſhe is preparing to commit, as well as to the Motive which determines her to have Recourſe to that Expedient, and the Danger ſhe eſcapes by embracing it, does not properly behold Death in its Terrors, becauſe Pain is felt but never ſeen.

Self-Love, and a Fondneſs for our Preſervation, changes it ſelf into ſo many Shapes, and acts by ſuch contrary Principles, that it inclines us to ſacrifice our Being for the ſake of our Exiſtence; and ſuch an Eſtimate do we make of our ſelves, that we conſent to die, by a natural and imperfect Inſtinct, which induces us to love our ſelves more than our own Lives.

It is certain that Men are become leſs free, leſs courageous, and leſs inclinable to great Untertakings than they formerly were, when by this Prerogative they aſſumed over themſelves, they could at any time elude every other Power.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XIII.

AUGUSTUS.

SEXTUS POMPEY poſſeſs'd *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, was Maſter at Sea, and ſaw himſelf at the Head of a vaſt Multitude of Fugitives, and Perſons pointed out for Death by Proſcriptions, and who combated for their ultimate Hopes. *Octavius* contended with him, in two very laborious Wars, and after a Variety of bad Succeſs, vanquiſh'd him by the Abilities of *Agrippa*.

The generality of the Conſpirators had ended their Lives in a miſerable Manner, and it was natural that Perſons who headed a Party, ſo frequently haraſs'd by Wars, in which no Quarter was afforded, ſhould die a violent Death. That Event was however interpreted into a Conſequence of Divine Vengeance, which puniſh'd the Murderers of *Cæſar*, and arm'd its Proſcriptions againſt the Cauſe they eſpouſed.

Octavius gain'd over the Soldiers of *Lepidus* to his own Intereſt, and diveſted him of his Power in the Triumvirate; he even envied him the Conſolation of paſſing the Remainder of his Days in Obſcurity, and compelled him to appear like a private Man, in the Aſſemblies of the People.

It is impoſſible for any one to be diſpleaſed at the Humiliation of this *Lepidus*; he was the moſt deprav'd Citizen in all the Republic, a conſtant Promoter of Diſturbances, and one who perpetually form'd fatal Schemes wherein he was oblig'd to aſſociate People of more Ability than himſelf. A modern Author [a] has thought fit to be large in his Commendation, and cites *Anthony*, who, in one of his Letters, repreſents him as an honeſt Man. But he, who had that Character from *Anthony*, could not have much Title to it from other Perſons.

I believe *Octavius* is the only Man, of all the *Roman* Generals, who ever gain'd the Affection of the Soldiers, by giving them perpetual Inſtances of a natural Timidity of Spirit. The Army, at that time, were more affected with the Liberality of their Commanders, than their Valour; perhaps it was even fortunate for him, that he was not Maſter of any Qualities which could procure him the Empire, and that his very Incapacity ſhould be the Cauſe of his Promotion to it, ſince it made him the leſs dreaded. It is not impoſſible that the Defects which threw the greateſt Diſhonour on his Character, ſhould be moſt propitious to his Fortune. If he had diſcover'd, at firſt, any Traces of an

[a] The Abbé *de St. Real.*

exalted

exalted Soul, all Mankind would have been jealous of his Abilities; and if he had been ſpirited by any true Bravery, he would not have given *Anthony* Time to launch into all the Extravagancies which prov'd his Ruin.

When *Anthony* was preparing to march againſt *Octavius*, he aſſured his Soldiers, by a ſolemn Oath, that he would reſtore the Republick, which makes it evident, that even They were jealous of the Liberty of their Country, tho' they were the perpetual Inſtruments of its Deſtruction, for an Army is the blindeſt and moſt inconſiderate Set of People in the World.

The Battle of *Actium* was fought, *Cleopatra* fled, and drew *Anthony* after her. It evidently appear'd by the Circumſtances of her future Conduct, that ſhe afterwards betray'd him[b]; perhaps that incomprehenſible Spirit of Coquettry, ſo predominant in her Sex, tempted her to practice all her Arts to lay a Third Sovereign of the World at her Feet.

The moſt ſurprizing Circumſtance in thoſe Wars is, that one Battle ſhould generally decide the Difference, and that one Defeat ſhould be irreparable.

The *Roman* Soldiers were not, properly, under the Prevalence of any Party-Spirit; they did not fight for any particular Acquiſition, but for ſome particular Perſon;

[b] *Dion. L.* LI.

they only knew their Commander, who engaged their Service by prodigious Hopes, but when he was once defeated, and conſequently no longer in a Condition to accompliſh his Promiſes, they immediately revolted to the other Side. The Provinces did not embark, in the Quarrel, with any greater Sincerity, for it was of little Conſequence to them, whether the Senate or the People prevailed; and therefore, when one of the Generals loſt the Day, they declared for the other; for every City was obliged to juſtify itſelf before the Conqueror, who having engaged himſelf to the Soldiery, by immenſe Promiſes, was conſtrained to ſacrifice, to their Avidity, thoſe Countries which were moſt obnoxious.

We have been afflicted, in *France*, with two Sorts of Civil War; one had Religion for its Pretext, and was of long Duration, becauſe the Motive which firſt inflamed it continued to ſubſiſt after Victory; the other could not properly be ſaid to have any Motive, but was rather kindled by the Caprice, or Ambition of ſome great Men, and was ſoon extinguiſhed.

Auguſtus (for that was the Name offered by Flattery to *Octavius*) was careful to eſtabliſh Order, or rather a durable Servitude; for when once the Sovereignty has been uſurped in a free State, every Tranſaction, on which an unlimited Authority

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can be founded, is called a Regulation, and all Inſtances of Diſorder, Commotion, and bad Government, are repreſented as the only Expedients to preſerve the juſt Liberty of the Subject.

All the *Roman* Citizens who were ever actuated by ambitious Views, have attempted to introduce a Kind of Anarchy in the Republick, and *Pompey*, *Craſſus* and *Cæſar* ſucceeded to a Miracle; they authorized an Impunity for all publick Crimes, and aboliſhed every Inſtitution calculated to prevent the Corruption of Manners, and every Regulation accommodated to the beſt Politicks; and as good Legiſlators endeavour to improve their Fellow Citizens, theſe on the contrary were indefatigable to lead them into a Degeneracy from every Virtue. With this View they gave a Sanction to the pernicious Cuſtom of corrupting the People by Money, and when any Perſons were accuſed of undue Practices for obtaining places of Truſt, the Delinquents corrupted the Judges who were to decide the Cauſe. They diſordered the Elections by every violent proceeding, and even intimidated the Tribunal it ſelf. The Authority of the People was reduced to Annihilation, witneſs *Gabinius*, [c] who after

[c] *Cæſar* made War with the *Gauls*, and *Craſſus* with the *Parthians*, without any previous Deliberation of the Senate, or any Decree of the People. *Dion.*

he had reinſtated *Ptolemy* by Force of Arms, on his Throne, contrary to the Inclinations of the People; very coldly demanded a Triumph.

Theſe leading Men in the Republick, endeavoured to make the People diſguſted at their own Power, and to become neceſſary themſelves, by rendering the Inconveniencies of a republican Government as diſagreeable as poſſible. But when *Auguſtus* had eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Supremacy, his Politicks were employed to reſtore Order, that the People might be ſenſible of the Happineſs of being ruled by one Man.

When *Auguſtus* was at the Head of an armed Power, he dreaded the Revolt of his Soldiers and not the Conſpiracies of the Citizens; for which Reaſon he laviſhed all his Careſſes on the former, and was altogether inhumane to the latter: But when his Arms had accompliſhed a Peace, he was apprehenſive of Conſpiracies, and the Idea of *Cæſar*'s untimely Death being always preſent to his Remembrance, he reſolved to vary from his Conduct that he might avoid his Fate. We ſhall now give the Reader a compleat Key to the whole Life of *Auguſtus*: He wore a Coat of Mail, under his Robe, in the Senate Houſe; he refuſed the Title of Dictator; and whereas *Cæſar* inſolently affirmed the Republick to be nothing, and that his Words alone were the Laws, *Au-*

guſtus

guſtus was perpetually expatiating on the Dignity of the Senate and his Veneration for the Republick. He was ſolicitous therefore to eſtabliſh ſuch a Form of Government as ſhould be moſt Satisfactory, without incommoding his particular Intereſt, and changed it into an Ariſtocraſy with Relation to the Civil, and into a Monarchy with Reſpect to the military Adminiſtration; rendring it by theſe means, an ambiguous Syſtem of Government, which being unſupported by its own Power, could ſubſiſt no longer than the Sovereign pleaſed, and conſequently was a Monarchy in all its Circumſtances.

A Queſtion has been ſtarted, whether *Auguſtus* had a real Inclination to diveſt himſelf of the Empire. But is it not apparent, that had he been in earneſt, he might eaſily have effected his Deſign? But his whole proceeding, in that Affair, was a meer Artifice, becauſe tho' he expreſſed a Deſire every ten Years, to be eaſed of the mighty Load that encumber'd him, yet he always thought fit to bear it. Theſe were little Refinements of low Cunning, calculated to induce the People to give him what, in his Opinion, he had not ſufficiently acquired. I form my Thoughts in this particular, by the whole Life of *Auguſtus*; and tho' Mankind are frequently fanciful and inconſiſtent, they are ſeldom known to re-

nounce, in one Moment, any Enjoyment that has engaged the Attention of all their Life. Every Action of *Auguſtus*, and each of his various Regulations viſibly tended to the Eſtabliſhment of Monarchy. *Sylla* reſigned the Dictatorſhip, but amidſt all his violent Proceedings, a republican Spirit is apparent in every Part of his Conduct; all his Regulations, tho' executed with a tyrannical Air, had an Aſpect to ſome certain Form of a Commonwealth. *Sylla*, who was a Man of an impetuous Temper, precipitated the *Romans* into Liberty. *Auguſtus*, who was a ſmooth and ſubtile Tyrant [d], led them gently into Slavery. When the Republick regained its Power, under *Sylla*, all the People exclaimed againſt Tyranny; and whilſt this became fortified, under *Auguſtus*, Liberty was the general Boaſt.

The Cuſtom of Triumphs, which had ſo much contributed to the Greatneſs of *Rome*, was aboliſhed by *Auguſtus*, or more properly, this Honour became the Prerogative of Sovereignty [e]. The greateſt Part of thoſe

[d] I uſe this Word in the Senſe of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who gave this Name to all thoſe who had ſubverted a Democracy, for in all other particulars, *Auguſtus* was a lawful Prince, after the Law enacted by the People. *Lege regia, quæ de ejus imperio lata eſt, Populus, ei & in eum omne imperium tranſtulit.* Inſtit. Lib. I.

[e] Triumphal Ornaments were all the Honours now granted to any particular General. *Dion.* in *Aug.*

Cuſtoms

Cuſtoms which prevailed under the Emperors, derived their Origine from the Republick [f]; and it will be proper to bring them together, that the Similitude may be more apparent. That Perſon alone under whoſe Auſpices a War had been conducted, was inſtituted to demand a Triumph [g]: Now the Wars were always carried on under the Auſpices of a Chief, and conſequently of the Emperour, who was the Chief of every Army.

As conſtant War was the reigning Principle of the Republick, the Maxim under the Emperors was altogether pacific. Victories were conſidered as ſo many Opportunities of introducing Diſorder by Armies, who might fix too great a Valuation on their Services. Thoſe who were advanced to any Command were apprehenſive of engaging in Enterpriſes of too great Impor-

[f] The *Romans* having changed their Government, without ſuſtaining any Invaſion from any Enemy, the ſame Cuſtoms continued as were practiſed before the Alteration of the Government, the Form of which ſtill remain'd tho' the Eſſentials were deſtroyed.

[g] *Dion* in *Aug.* l. 54. acquaints us that *Agrippa* neglected, out of Modeſty, to give the Senate an Account of his Expedition againſt the People of the *Boſphorus*, and even refuſed a Triumph; ſince which Time, it was not granted to any Perſon of his Claſs; but it was a Favour *Auguſtus* intended to afford *Agrippa*, tho' *Anthony* would not allow it to *Ventidius*, the firſt Time he conquered the *Parthians*.

tance;

tance; they found it neceſſary to aim at Glory with Moderation, and were to engage the Emperor's Notice, and not raiſe his Jealouſy; in a word, they were not to appear before him with a Luſtre, which his Eyes could not ſupport.

Auguſtus was very cautious [h] of inveſting any one with the Rights of a *Roman* Citizen; he made Laws [i] to prevent the Enfranchiſement of too many Slaves [k], and by his Will recommended the Obſervation of theſe two Maxims, with a Diſſuaſive againſt extending the Empire by new Wars.

Theſe three Particulars were very well connected; and when all War was diſcontinu'd, there was no need either of new Citizens or Enfranchiſements.

When *Rome* was in a conſtant State of War, ſhe was under a perpetual Neceſſity of recruiting her Inhabitants. At the Beginning, part of the People were tranſplanted thither from the conquer'd Cities, and in proceſs of Time ſeveral Citizens of the neighbouring Towns came to *Rome* to obtain a Share in the Rights of Suffrage, and eſtabliſh'd themſelves there in ſuch Numbers, that upon the Complaints of the Allies, the *Romans* were oblig'd to remand

[h] *Sueton. in Auguſt.*
[i] *Juſtin. Inſtitut.* L. I. *& Suet. in Aug.*
[k] *Dion. in Aug.*

them

them back. Multitudes at laſt arriv'd from the Provinces; the Laws favour'd Marriages, and even render'd them neceſſary. *Rome*, in all her Wars, gain'd a prodigious Number of Slaves, and when the Riches of the Citizens became immenſe, they bought theſe unhappy People from all Parts, and, from a Principle of Generoſity, Avarice or Ambition, enfranchiſed them without Number[1]. Some intended by this Proceeding to reward the Fidelity of their Slaves, others had a View by it to receive, in their Name, the Corn which the Republick diſtributed among the poor Citizens. In a word, others denied to have their Funeral Solemnity graced with a long Train of Attendants, crowned with Flowers. The People were generally compos'd of Perſons who had receiv'd their Freedom, ſo that the Lords of the Univerſe, not only in their Original but thro' the greateſt part of ſucceeding Times, were of ſervile Extraction.

The Number of the Populace being chiefly collected out of Slaves, who had been enfranchiſed, or the Sons of ſuch, became very incommodious, and were therefore tranſplanted in Colonies; by which Means the State effectually ſecured the Obedience of the Provinces. There was a general Cir-

[1] *Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ.* L. IV.

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culation of Mankind, through the World. *Rome* receiv'd them in the State of Slaves, and ſent them away *Romans*.

Auguſtus, under the Pretence of ſome Tumults in the Elections, plac'd a Garriſon and a Governour in the City, made the Legions perpetual, ſtation'd them upon the Frontiers, and eſtabliſh'd particular Funds for their Pay. To which we may add, that he gave Orders for the Veterans to receive their Donations in Money[m], and not in Lands.

Many unhappy Conſequences reſulted from the Diſtribution of Land ſince the time of *Sylla*; the Citizens Property in their Eſtates grew precarious, and if all the Soldiers of one Cohort were not ſettled in the ſame place, they became diſſatisfy'd with their Allotments, neglected the Cultivation of their Lands, and degenerated into dangerous Citizens: But if they were diſtributed in entire Legions, the Ambitious could raiſe Armies againſt the Republic in a Moment.

Auguſtus likewiſe eſtabliſh'd fixed Proviſions for the Naval Power, which was never

[m] He order'd that the Prætorian Soldiers ſhould have Five thouſand Drachmas a piece after Sixteen Years Service, and the others Three thouſand Drachmas after Twenty Years. *Dion. in Aug.*

done

done before his Time; for as the *Romans* were Maſters of the *Mediterranean*, and as all Navigation was then confin'd to that Sea, they had not any Enemy to fear.

Dion obſerves, very judiciouſly, that after the Emperors had aſſum'd the ſovereign Power, it became very difficult to write the Hiſtory of thoſe Times. All Tranſactions were induſtriouſly conceal'd, the Diſpatches from the Provinces were tranſmitted to the Cabinets of the Emperors, and we know little more than what either the Folly or Raſhneſs of Tyrants divulg'd, or ſuch Events as fall within the Conjectures of Hiſtorians.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XIV.

TIBERIUS.

AS a River, ſometimes, with a ſlow and ſilent Progreſs, undermines the Banks that have been thrown up to reſtrain its Current, and at laſt overwhelms them in a Moment, and ſheds an Inundation over the Fields they formerly preſerved; in the ſame Manner, the ſupreme Authority, which gain'd an inſenſible Growth under *Auguſtus*, bore down all before it in the ſucceeding Reign of *Tiberius*.

A Law at that Time ſubſiſted, which made it Treaſon to form any injurious Attempt againſt the Majeſty of the People: TIBERIUS aſſumed to himſelf the Interpretation and Enforcement of this Law, and extended it not only to the Caſes for which it was originally calculated, but to every Conjuncture that could poſſibly be favourable to his Hatred or Suſpicions. And now, not only Actions, but Words and Signs, and even Thoughts were adjudged by this Standard; for thoſe Expreſſions which drop from the Overflowing of the Heart, in the Converſation of intimate Friends, are always ſuppoſed to be their real Sentiments. All Freedom was therefore baniſhed from their Feaſts, Diffidence reign'd among Relations,

ons, and Infidelity infected the Slaves: The gloomy Diſpoſition and Inſincerity of the Prince were diffuſed through all Ranks of Men; Friendſhip had the Diſrepute of a dangerous Quickſand; a fine Genius paſſed for a ſhining Indiſcretion, and Virtue it ſelf was only conſider'd as an Affectation, that officiouſly reminded the People of their loſt Happineſs.

No Tyranny can have a ſeverer Effect than that which is exerciſed under the Appearance of Laws, and with the plauſible Colours of Juſtice; when the Executors of cruel Power would, if we may uſe the Expreſſion, drown the unhappy Wretches on the very Plank that before ſaved them amidſt the troubled Waves.

As a Tyrant is never deſtitute of Inſtruments to accompliſh his Deſigns, ſo *Tiberius* always found the Senate tractable enough to condemn [a] as many Perſons as he could poſſibly ſuſpect; and this venerable Body ſunk at laſt into a Degeneracy too low to be deſcribed. The Senators even courted Servitude, to gain the Favour of *Sejanus*; and the moſt illuſtrious among them abandoned themſelves to the diſhonourable Profeſſion of Informers.

[a] Before the Time of the Emperors, the Senate confined their Attention to Publick Affairs, and never decided the Cauſes of private Perſons in a full Body.

It

It ſeems eaſy to diſcover ſeveral Cauſes of that ſlaviſh Diſpoſition, which then prevailed in the Senate. When *Cæſar* had entirely cruſhed the Party who declared for the Republick, all the Friends, as well as Enemies he then had in the Senate, concurred with equal Unanimity, to remove the Bounds with which the Laws had limited his Power, and at the ſame time they agreed to render him unparallel'd Honours; ſome came into theſe Compliances with a View to pleaſe him, others intended by ſuch Means to make him odious. *Dion* informs us, that ſome even propoſed that he might have the Liberty to enjoy as many Women as he ſhould deſire. This obſequious Conduct freed him from all Suſpicions of the Senate, and conſequently was the Cauſe of his Aſſaſſination; but then it prevented in the ſucceeding Reigns, all Flattery from riſing to ſuch wild and unexampled Height as might have created Diſaffection in the Minds of the People.

Before *Rome* ſubmitted to the Dominion of one Man, the Riches of the Nobility, in what manner ſoever acquired, were certainly immenſe, but thoſe Grandees were diveſted of the greateſt part of their Treaſures by the Emperors [b]. The Senators were no

[b] The great Men were impoveriſh'd even in the Time of *Auguſtus*, and no longer ſollicited for the Office of

longer

longer reſorted to by thoſe great and wealthy Clients, who were the Sources of their Patrons Affluence. The Provinces produced nothing conſiderable, except for *Cæſar*; and eſpecially when they were under the Government of his *Præfects*, whoſe Office had ſome Reſemblance to that of the Intendants in *France*. However, tho' the Fountain from whence all this Oppulence flowed was at laſt exhauſted, the Expences were continued in their former Profuſion, and the Track being once mark'd out, the Men of Rank could only purſue it now, by the Emperor's Favour.

Auguſtus had depriv'd the People of their Legiſlative Capacity, and aboliſh'd all their Juriſdiction with reſpect to Publick Offences, but he ſtill left them the Power of electing Magiſtrates. *Tiberius*, who dreaded the Aſſemblies of a People ſo numerous, diveſted them even of this Privilege, and tranſferred it to the Senate[c], or rather to himſelf. Now it is impoſſible to conceive the abject Lowneſs to which the Declenſion of the People's Power ſunk the Spirits of the Grandees: When Dignities were in the Diſpoſal of the Populace, the Magiſtrates, who

Ædile or Tribune of the People, and many of them had not any Inclination to have a Seat among the Senators.

[c] *Tacit. Annal. L.* I. *Dion. L.* LIV. They were afterwards re-eſtabliſhed, and then diſanull'd by *Caligula*.

ſolli-

ſollicited their Intereſt, practiſed a Number of mean Condeſcenſions, but theſe were intermixed with a certain Magnificence that in ſome meaſure conceal'd them: For Inſtance, they exhibited pompous Games and Recreations, they diſtributed Sums of Money, and Quantities of Corn among the People, and ſometimes regaled them with ſplendid Feaſts. But tho' the Motive was low, the Manner ſeem'd auguſt, becauſe it always comports with a great Man to obtain the Favour of the People by Liberality; but when that People had nothing to beſtow, and the Prince, in the Name of the Senate, diſpoſed of all Employments, they were deſired as well as obtain'd in a diſhonourable Manner, and could only be compaſſed by Adulation, Infamy and a hateful Train of Crimes, that were made neceſſary Arts by the Iniquity of the Age.

It does not indeed appear that *Tiberius* had any Intention to make the Senate contemptible, and he complain'd of nothing ſo much, as the Propenſity of that Body to Slavery. His Life was filled with Diſſatisfactions on that Account, but he reſembled the Generality of Mankind, and was fond of contradictory Enjoyments. His general Politicks were inconſiſtent with his particular Paſſions; he would willingly have ſeen a free Senate, who by their Conduct might have created a Veneration for his Government,

ment; but then he was alſo deſirous of a Senate who would every Moment be tractable to his Fears, his Jealouſies, and his Averſions. In a word, the Politician was perpetually ſubordinate to the Man.

We have already intimated, that the People had formerly obtained from the Patricians the Privilege of electing, from their own Body, a Set of Magiſtrates, who were to protect them from the Inſults and Injuſtice that might be intended againſt them; and, in order to capacitate thoſe Magiſtrates for the Exerciſe of ſuch a Power, their Perſons were declar'd ſacred and inviolable, and whoever ſhould preſume to treat a Tribune injuriouſly, either by Actions or Language, was condemn'd by the Law to ſuffer Death on the Spot. Now when the Emperors were inveſted with the Tribunitial Power, they obtain'd the ſame Prerogatives, and it was upon this Principle that ſuch a Number of People were depriv'd of their Lives: From this Source flow'd the Impunity with which Informers flouriſh'd in their Profeſſion; and hence it was, that the Accuſation of Treaſon, that Crime, ſays *Pliny*, which was charg'd on thoſe to whom no real Offence could be imputed, was at laſt extended to one whom the Wantonneſs of Tyranny pointed out.

I am inclinable however to believe, that ſome of thoſe Titles of Accuſation were not

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ſo ridiculous as they appear at preſent, and can never be perſuaded that *Tiberius* would have caus'd a Man to be accus'd for ſelling to one who bought his Houſe, a Statue of the Emperor; that *Domitian* ſhould condemn a Woman to die for undreſſing herſelf before his Image; or that he ſhould proceed with the ſame Severity againſt a Citizen of *Rome*, for cauſing a Deſcription of all the Earth to be delineated on the Walls of his Apartment; if ſuch Actions as theſe had not call'd up an Idea in the Minds of the *Romans* very different from that they now excite in us. For my part I am of Opinion, that as *Rome* had chang'd the Form of its Government, thoſe Actions which now appear inconſiderable to us, might, when they were committed, have a very different Aſpect; and I judge in this manner, from my Reflection on what is now cuſtomary in a Nation which cannot with any Juſtice be ſuſpected of Tyranny, and yet it is a Capital Crime there to drink to the Health of a certain Perſon.

I cannot omit any Circumſtance which tends to give a clear Repreſentation of the *Roman* Genius. That People were ſo habituated to Obedience, and ſo conſtantly plac'd their Happineſs in homaging their Maſters, that after the Death of *Germanicus*, they were affected with ſuch inconſolable Sorrow and Deſpair, as never appears in our Contemporaries.

temporaries. The Deſcriptions given by Hiſtorians [d] of a Deſolation, ſo public, ſo univerſal and immoderate, deſerve a Reader's Curioſity; and it is certain, that this Scene of Grief was not affected, ſince a whole People are never known to practiſe ſo much Flattery and Diſſimulation.

The *Romans*, who had now no longer any Share in the Government, and were chiefly compos'd of Perſons who had received their Freedom, or ſuch indolent and uninduſtrious People who liv'd at the Expence of the public Treaſure; were now ſenſible of nothing but their Imbecillity, and afflicted themſelves like Children or Women who from a Principle of Weakneſs abandon themſelves to Sorrow. Theſe People were politically indiſpos'd, they plac'd all their Fears and Hopes in the Perſon of *Germanicus*, and when he was ſnatch'd from them by an untimely Death, they ſunk into Deſpair.

No People are ſo apprehenſive of Calamity as thoſe whom the Miſery of their Condition ſhould rather diſcharge from all Fear, and who ought to ſay with *Andromache*, *Would to Heaven I had any Enjoyment I could dread to loſe!* There are at this Day, in *Naples*, Fifty thouſand Men, who have no Food but Herbs, and whoſe whole Cloathing con-

[d] See *Tacitus*.

ſiſts of a few miſerable Rags; and yet theſe People, who are the moſt wretched Creatures upon Earth, diſcover a dreadful Conſternation at the leaſt Irruption of *Veſuvius*, and are ſo infatuated as to fear they ſhall be miſerable.

CHAPTER XV.

Remarks on the Emperors from CAIUS CALIGULA *to* ANTONINUS.

CALIGULA ſucceeded TIBERIUS, and it was ſaid of him, that there never was a better Slave, nor a worſe Maſter: And indeed theſe two Circumſtances are very conſiſtent; for the ſame Turn of Mind which inclines a Perſon to be ſtrongly affected at the unlimited Power of his Sovereign, produces the ſame Impreſſions in his own Favour, when he riſes to Empire himſelf.

Caligula reſtored the Aſſemblies of the People, which *Tiberius* had prohibited; and aboliſh'd the arbitrary Law and Conſtructions of Treaſon eſtabliſh'd by that Emperor: From which Proceeding we may obſerve, that the Beginnings of a bad Reign ſometimes reſemble the Concluſion of a good one; for a wicked Prince may, from a Principle of Contradiction to the Motives of his

his Predeceſſor's Conduct, be ſpirited to Actions which the other perform'd from a virtuous Inducement; and we owe to this very Principle a Number of good as well as bad Regulations.

But what did the *Romans* gain by theſe plauſible Beginnings? *Caligula* diſannull'd the Law which conſtituted the Circumſtantials of Treaſon, but then he deſtroy'd thoſe who diſpleas'd him, by a military Severity; and his Vengeance, inſtead of pointing at ſome particular Senators, hung over all their Heads, like a Sword that threatned them with Extermination at one Blow.

This formidable Tyranny of the Emperors aroſe from the Diſpoſition of the *Romans* in general; who, as they were ſuddenly enſlav'd to an arbitrary Government, and were hardly ſenſible of any Interval between Dominion and Subjection, were not prepar'd for ſuch a Tranſition by any gentle Softenings. The fierce and untractable Diſpoſition ſtill remain'd, and the Citizens were uſed in the ſame Manner they themſelves had treated their conquer'd Enemies, and were govern'd altogether upon the ſame Plan. When *Sylla* made his public Entrance into *Rome*, he was ſtill the *Sylla* who had done the ſame in *Athens*, and he govern'd with an uniform Imperiouſneſs. As to us who are Natives of *France*, and have ſunk into Subjection, by inſenſible Degrees,

if we are deſtitute of Laws, we are at leaſt govern'd by engaging Manners.

The conſtant View of the Combats of Gladiators inſpir'd the *Romans* with extraordinary Fierceneſs; and it was obſervable, that CLAUDIUS became more diſpos'd to ſhed Blood, by being habituated to thoſe Spectacles. The Example of this Emperor, who was naturally of a gentle Diſpoſition, and yet degenerated into ſo much Cruelty at laſt, makes it evident, that the Education in thoſe times, was very different from our own.

The *Romans*, being accuſtomed to tyrannize over human Nature, [a] in the Perſons of their Children and Slaves, had a very imperfect Idea of that Virtue we diſtinguiſh by the Name of Humanity. Whence proceeds the ſavage Caſt of Mind ſo remarkable in the Inhabitants of our Colonies, but from their conſtant Severity to an unfortunate Claſs of Mankind? When Barbarity prevails in Civil Government, what natural Juſtice or Harmony of Manners can be expected from the Individuals?

We are fatigu'd and ſatiated with ſeeing in the Hiſtory of the Emperors ſuch an infinite Number of People whom they deſtroyed for no other End than to confiſcate their

[a] See the Inſtitutes of *Juſtinian*, where they treat of the Power of Parents and Maſters.

Goods:

Goods: Our modern Accounts furniſh us with no ſuch Inſtances of Inhumanity. This Difference, as we have already intimated, is to be aſcrib'd to the milder Caſt of our Manners, and the civilizing Reſtraints of a more amiable Religion. We may likewiſe add, that we have no Opportunity of pillaging the Families of Senators who have ravag'd the World, and we derive this Advantage from the Mediocrity of our Fortunes, which are conſequently in a ſafer Situation. In a word, we are not conſiderable enough to be plunder'd. [b]

That Claſs of the *Roman* People who were call'd *Plebeians* had no Averſion to the worſt of their Emperors, for ſince they had no longer any Share of Empire themſelves, nor were any more employ'd in Wars, they became the moſt contemptible and degenerate People in the World; they look'd upon Commerce and the Sciences, as only proper for Slaves, and the Diſtributions of Corn which they receiv'd, made them neglect the Cultivation of their Lands: They had been familiariz'd to public Games and ſplendid Spectacles, and ſince they had no longer any Tribunes to obey, or Magiſtrates to elect,

[b] The Duke of *Braganza* had an immenſe Eſtate in *Portugal*, and when he firſt revolted the King of *Spain* was felicitated by his Nobility, for the rich Confiſcation he was to derive from that Event.

thoſe Gratifications which they were only permitted to enjoy, became neceſſary to them, and their Indolence and Inactivity ſtimulated their Reliſh of thoſe Indulgencies.

CALIGULA, NERO, COMMODUS, CARACALLA, were lamented by the People for their very Folly, for whatever theſe loved, the others were as madly fond of, in their Turn, and not only contributed their whole Power, but even devoted their own Perſons to thoſe Pleaſures; they laviſhed all the Riches of the Empire with the greateſt Prodigality, and when theſe were exhauſted, the People without the leaſt Emotion beheld all the great Families pillaged. They enjoyed the Fruits of Tyranny, without the leaſt intermixture of Uneaſineſs, becauſe their low Obſcurity was their Protection. Such Princes have a natural Antipathy to People of Merit and Vertue, becauſe they are ſenſible their Actions are diſapproved by ſuch Perſons. The Contradiction [c] and even the Silence of an auſtere Citizen were inſupportable to them; and as they grew intoxicated with popular Applauſe, they at laſt imagined their Government conſtituted the Public Felicity,

[c] As the ancient Auſterity of Manners could not ſuffer the Licentiouſneſs of Theatrical Repreſentations, the Minds of vertuous Men continued to be filled with Contempt for thoſe who exercíſed that Profeſſion.

and

and conſequently that it could be cenſured by none but diſaffected and ill-diſpoſed Perſons.

When an Emperour at any Time diſcovered his Strength and Activity, as when *Commodus*, [d] for Inſtance, in the Preſence of a vaſt Aſſembly of the People, ſlew ſeveral wild Beaſts with a Facility peculiar to him, he naturally raiſed the Admiration of the Soldiers as well as the Populace, becauſe Strength and pliancy of Limbs were at that time conſidered as neceſſary Qualifications in the military Art.

We have no longer a juſt Idea of bodily Exerciſes, and a Man who practiſes them with any extraordinary Application, appears contemptible in our Opinion, becauſe the Generality of theſe Exerciſes produce nothing more than a little exterior Agreeableneſs; whereas among the Ancients, all

[d] Tho' the Gladiators were ſelected from the Dregs of the People, and followed the moſt infamous Profeſſion that was ever tolerated; for none but Slaves or Malefactors were compelled to devote themſelves to Death in Combats at the Funerals of the Grandees; yet the Fondneſs of the People for theſe Exerciſes which had ſuch a Reſemblance to thoſe of War, became ſo immoderate, that we cannot help calling it a Species of Madneſs. Emperors, Senators, Men of diſtinguiſhed Birth, and even Women appeared upon the Arena in the Amphitheatre, *nec virorum modo pugnas, ſed & fœminarum*, ſays *Suetonius* in the Life of *Domitian*. The *Romans* were as much delighted too with Wreſtlers.

their Exerciſes, even Dancing it ſelf, became incorporated into their martial Diſcipline.

We may likewiſe add, that even among us, an affected Maſterſhip in the Weapons we employ in War, is conſidered as a ridiculous Attainment, becauſe ſince the Cuſtom of Duelling became ſo prevailing, Fencing has been treated as the Science of boiſterous Wranglers and Cowards.

Thoſe who cenſure *Homer*, for his uſual Manner of celebrating the Strength or Activity of his Heroes, muſt likewiſe think *Saluſt* [f] very ridiculous when he praiſes *Pompey*, for running, leaping, and carrying a Burden better than any other Man.

Caligula, was a true Sophiſt in Cruelty, for as he equally deſcended from *Anthony* and *Auguſtus*, he declared he would puniſh the Conſuls if they celebrated the Day appointed to commemorate the Victory at *Actium*, and that they ſhould likewiſe feel his Severity if they neglected to Honour that Event; and *Druſilla* to whom he accorded divine Honours, being dead it was a Crime to bewail her becauſe ſhe was a Goddeſs, and as great an Offence to forbear that Sorrow becauſe ſhe was his Siſter.

[f] *Cum alacribus Saltu, cum velocibus curſu, cum Validis recte certabat, Fragm.* of *Saluſt* cited by *Vegetius* l. 1. c. 9.

We

We have now aſcended an Eminence from whence we may take a View of human Affairs: When we trace in the *Roman* Hiſtory, ſuch a Variety of Wars, and their prodigal Effuſion of human Blood; when we view ſo many once flouriſhing Nations depopulated, and ſee ſuch a Diverſity of ſhining Actions and triumphant Proceſſions; when we trace the maſterly Strokes of Politics, Sagacity and Fortitude, ſo conſpicuous in that People, and reflect on their Advances to univerſal Monarchy by Schemes ſo judiciouſly concerted, ſo ſucceſsfully ſupported, and ſo happily accompliſhed; to what View are all theſe mighty Preparations directed; why truly to ſatiate the Ambition of five or ſix Monſters! Is it poſſible then, that the Senate could ſhake off the proud Domination of ſo many Kings, only to plunge themſelves into the moſt abject Slavery to one of their unworthy Citizens, and to exterminate it ſelf by its own Edicts? Did it riſe to ſuch a Height of Grandeur, to drop more ſplendidly into Ruin, and do the Sons of Men only labour to augment their Power, that they may fall, by their own Combinations, into better Hands?

When *Caligula* was aſſaſſinated, the Senate aſſembled to form a new Model of Government, and, whilſt they were engaged in ſuch Deliberations, a Party of Soldiers ruſhed in to plunder the Palace, and found,

in ſome obſcure Place, a Man trembling with Fear; this Man was *Claudius*, and they immediately ſaluted him Emperour.

Claudius compleated the Subverſion of the ancient form of Government, by intruſting the Diſpenſation of Juſtice to his Officers: The principal Motive to the Wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*, was to determine the Competition of the Senators and the Equeſtrian [f] Order for this Prerogative, and it was now wreſted from both Parties by the arbitrary Fancy of a weak Man. Surprizing Event indeed, of a Diſpute which had ſet the World in Flames.

When the Reign of a Prince ſucceeds the Diſſolution of a Republic, no Authority can be more abſolute than his own, for he then poſſeſſes all that Power which before was diſtributed among the People, who exerciſed it without any Limitations; and for this Reaſon the Kings of *Denmark* are the moſt deſpotic Sovereigns in *Europe*.

The People were altogether as abject and unmanly as the Senate, tho' they once were animated with ſuch a martial Spirit, that when Armies were levied in the City, before the Time of the Emperors, they gained the military Diſcipline upon the Spot, and immediately marched to the Enemy. In the Civil Wars of *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian*,

[f] See *Tacitus*.

Rome

Rome became a Prey to the ambitious and was full of timorous Citizens, who were ſtruck with Conſternation by any Party of Soldiers, who could firſt approach them.

The Emperors themſelves were in no better a Situation; for as the Right of electing a Sovereign was not appropriated to any ſingle Army, it generally happened that when an Emperour was choſen by one Body of Soldiers, that Circumſtance alone was ſufficient to diſcredit him with the others, who immediately ſet up a Competitor to oppoſe him.

As the Grandeur therefore of the Republic, proved Fatal to that Form of Government, ſo the mighty Extent of the Empire was altogether as pernicious to the Monarchs. If the Territories they were to defend had been confined to moderate Limits, thoſe Sovereigns might have been effectually ſerved by one principal Army, and the Soldiers, when they had once elected their Emperor, would have been dutiful enough to acquieſce in their Choice.

GALBA, OTHO and VITELLIUS, [g] made a very tranſient Appearance in the imperial Scene. VESPASIAN who, like them, was elected by the Army, devoted all his Reign to the Reeſtabliſhment of the Em-

g *Suſcepere duo manipulares imperium Populi Romani tranſferendum, & tranſtulerunt.* Tacit. l. 1.

pire, which had been ſucceſſively poſſeſſed by ſix Tyrants, all equally cruel, and moſt of them exceedingly furious and untractable, generally very weak, and, to compleat the publick Calamity, profuſe even to Infatuation.

TITUS, who ſucceeded his Father, was the Darling of the People; but *Domitian* preſented to their View an uncommon Monſter, more unhuman in his Diſpoſition, or at leaſt more implacable than any of his Predeceſſors, becauſe he was more timorous.

His favourite Freemen, and, according to ſome Hiſtorians, the Empreſs her ſelf, finding his Friendſhip as dangerous as his Averſion, and that he allowed no Bounds to his Suſpicions and Accuſations, turned their Thoughts to a Succeſſor, and choſe the venerable NERVA.

Nerva adopted *Trajan*, who proved the moſt accompliſhed Prince in all Hiſtory; it was a Happineſs to be born under his Reign, which bleſſed the Empire with more Proſperity and true Glory than it had ever enjoyed before. He was an admirable Stateſman, and a moſt accompliſhed General; the native Sweetneſs of his Diſpoſition inclined him to univerſal Humanity; and his unclouded Penetration, guided him through the beſt and pureſt Tracks of Government; he was actuated by a noble Soul,

Soul, to whoſe Embelliſhment every Virtue had contributed, His Conduct was free from all Extreams, and his amiable Qualities were temper'd with that exact Proportion that the Brightneſs of one was never loſt in the Luſtre of another. To ſum up all, he was the beſt-qualified of Mankind, to do Honour to human Nature, and to repreſent the Divinity on Earth.

He accompliſh'd *Cæſar's* Project of invading the *Parthians*, and was very ſucceſsful in his Wars with that mighty People; any Monarch but himſelf would have ſunk under the Weight of ſuch an Enterprize, where Danger was always preſent, and from whence the Source of his neceſſary Supplies was at a vaſt Diſtance; in a Word, where he could not be ſure Victory it ſelf, would ſave him from Deſtruction.

The Difficulty conſiſted in the Situation of the two Empires, and the military Diſcipline of both Nations. If he directed his March through *Armenia* towards the Sources of *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, he was ſure to be incommoded with a mountainous and impracticable Country, through which no Convoy of Proviſion could paſs, ſo that the Army would be half deſtroyed before they could penetrate into *Media* [h]. On the o-

[h] The Country did not produce any Trees large enough to be wrought into Engines proper for the Siege of Towns. *Plut.* Life of *Antoninus*.

ther

ther Hand if he ſhould ſtrike out a lower Track towards the South, through *Niſibis*, he would find himſelf bewildered in a ghaſtly Deſert that ſeparated the two Empires; and if he intended to proceed ſtill lower and march through *Meſopotamia*, he was then to croſs a large Country that was either uncultivated or laid under Water; and as the *Tygris* and *Euphrates* flowed from North to South, he could not gain a Paſſage into the Country without quitting thoſe Rivers, which if he did he muſt inevitably periſh.

As to the Manner practiſed by the two Nations in making War, the Strength of the *Romans* conſiſted in their Infantry, which was the moſt firm and beſt-diſciplined Body of Soldiers in the World.

The *Parthians* on the contrary, had no Infantry, but then their Horſe were admirable and always combated at ſuch a Diſtance as placed them out of the Reach of the *Roman* Army, and the Javelin was ſeldom launched far enough to wound them. Their own Weapons conſiſted of a Bow, and many formidable Shafts, and they rather beſieged an Army than gave it Battle, they were purſued to no Purpoſe in their Flight, for that was the ſame with them as an Engagement. They carried off all the Inhabitants of the Country, and only left *Garriſons* in their fortified Places, and when theſe were taken, the Conquerors were obliged

liged to deſtroy them. The *Parthians* likewiſe ſet Fire to all the Country that lay round the *Roman* Army, and did not leave them the leaſt Blade of Herbage. In a Word, they managed their Wars in a Manner very like that which is now practiſed on the ſame Frontiers.

We may add to theſe Diſadvantages, that the *Illyrian* and *German* Legions which were drawn out for this War, were no way capable to ſuſtain it, [i] becauſe the Soldiers who were accuſtomed to plentiful Food in their own Country, periſhed in theſe Regions for want of many Neceſſaries.

The *Parthians* by theſe Means had accompliſhed that, for the Preſervation of their Liberty, which had hitherto been impracticable to all other Nations, againſt the victorious Power of the *Romans:* But they owed this Advantage not to any reſiſtleſs Valour, but to their inacceſſible Situation.

ADRIAN gave up the Conqueſt of TRAJAN, and made *Euphrates* the Boundary of his Empire; and indeed it was ſurprizing that the *Romans* after ſuch a Series of War ſhould loſe nothing but what they were deſirous to quit; and thus they reſembled the Ocean whoſe Expanſion is never leſſen'd but when it retires of it ſelf.

[i] See *Herodians* Life of *Alexander*.

This

This Conduct of ADRIAN occaſioned great Diſſatisfactions among the People. It was recorded in the ſacred Book of that Nation [k] that when *Tarquin* intended to build the Capitol, he found the place moſt commodious for his Purpoſe fill'd with the Statues of other Deities, upon which he employed his Skill in Augury to diſcover if they were inclinable to reſign their Places to *Jupiter*, and they all conſented, except *Mars*, *Hebe*, and *Terminus*. This proceeding gave Birth to three Religious Opinions, namely, that *Mars* would never reſign his Place to any other Being; that the *Roman* Youth would be always invincible, and that their God *Terminus* would never recede from his Station; the contrary of which was however verified in the Reign of *Adrian*.

[k] *Auguſtin. de Civit. Dei*, l. 4. c. 23 and 29.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XVI.

Conſiderations on the State of the Empire from ANTONINUS *to* PROBUS.

IN this Period the *Stoicks* propagated their Doctrines in the Empire with great popularity; and it ſeems as if Nature her ſelf had been induſtrious to produce this admirable Sect which reſembled thoſe Plants the Earth Cauſes to ſpring up in Places never viſited by the Sunbeams.

This Sect furniſhed the *Romans* with their beſt Emperors; none but *Marcus Aurelius* could extinguiſh the Remembrance of the firſt *Antonine* who adopted him; and we find our ſelves affected with a ſecret Pleaſure when we ſpeak of this Emperor. We cannot read his Life without ſome Impreſſions of Tenderneſs, and grow inclinable to think better of our ſelves, becauſe the Hiſtory of that Prince makes us entertain a more favourable Opinion of Mankind.

The Wiſdom of NERVA, the Glory of TRAJAN, the Valour of ADRIAN, and the Vertue of the two ANTONINES, gained them the Veneration of the Soldiers; but when a ſet of new Monſters became their Succeſſors, the Abuſe of military Government appeared in its full Enormity; and the Soldiers, who had expoſed the Empire

to

to ſale, aſſaſſinated the Emperors for the ſake of new Gratuities.

It has been a conceived Opinion that there is a certain Prince in the World, who for the Space of fifteen Years has been endeavouring to aboliſh the Civil Government in his Dominions, and to ſubſtitute the Military in its Room. I have no Intention to make odious Reflections on ſuch a Deſign, and ſhall only obſerve, that from the Nature of Things in General, two hundred Guards may be a better Security to a Prince than four Thouſand; and beſides, an armed People are of all others the moſt dangerous to be oppoſed.

COMMODUS ſucceeded his Father *Marcus Aurelius*, and was a Monſter who gave a Looſe to all his own Paſſions, and thoſe of his Courtiers. The Perſons who delivered the World from ſuch a Barbarian, transferred the imperial Dignity to the venerable *Pertinax*, who was ſoon aſſaſſinated by the pretorian Bands.

The Empire was then expos'd to Auction, and *Didius Julian* carry'd it by a Number of magnificent Promiſes; this Proceeding exaſperated the whole Body of the People; for tho' the Empire had been frequently bought, it had never been ſold upon Credit before; *Peſcennius Niger*, *Severus*, and *Albinus*, were ſaluted Emperors, and *Julian* not being in a Condition to pay the immenſe

immenſe Sums he had promiſed, was abandon'd by the Soldiers.

Severus defeated *Niger* and *Albinus*: He was Maſter of extraordinary Qualities, but wanted that Sweetneſs of Diſpoſition, which in Princes is the moſt amiable Quality they can poſſeſs.

The unhappy Cuſtom of Proſcribing, introduc'd by *Sylla*, was ſtill practiſed under the Emperors; and the Prince muſt have been diſtinguiſh'd by ſome Virtue, if he diſcountenanc'd that ſevere Proceeding; for as the Miniſters and Favourites turn'd their Thoughts to Confiſcations at the Beginning of a Reign, they were always repreſenting to their Sovereign the Neceſſity for Puniſhments, and the dangerous Effects of Clemency.

It may here be proper to obſerve, that the Power of the Emperors might eaſily appear more tyrannical than that of modern Princes, for as their Dignity was a Conjunction of the various Authorities in the *Roman* Magiſtracy, ſuch as Dictators, for Inſtance, Tribunes of the People, Proconſuls, Cenſors, Supreme Pontiffs, and ſometimes Conſuls, they frequently aſſumed the Diſpenſation of diſtributive Juſtice, and it was eaſy for them to create Suſpicions, that they had oppreſſed thoſe whom they condemn'd; for the People uſually judge of the Abuſe of Power, by the Greatneſs of its Extent; whereas

whereas the Kings of *Europe*, being Legiſlators and not Executors of the Law, and Sovereign Princes but not Judges, are conſequently diſcharg'd from the Exerciſe of an Authority that might prove odious; and have conſign'd the Infliction of Puniſhments to Magiſtrates, whilſt they reſerv'd to themſelves the Diſtribution of Pardons and other popular Acts of Mercy.

Few Emperors have ever been more jealous of their Authority than *Tiberius* and *Severus*, and yet they ſuffer'd themſelves to be govern'd in a moſt diſhonourable Manner, the one by *Sejanus* and the other by *Plautian*.

When *Severus* gave the full Play to his Proſcriptions, a great Body of *Niger*'s [a] Army retir'd for Safety to the *Parthians* [b] and perfected them in every part of military Diſcipline wherein they were any way defective; they habituated them to the *Roman* Weapons, and even taught their Workmen how to make that martial Equipage; in Conſequence of which, that People, who till then had uſually limited their Exploits to defenſive Wars [c], were generally Agreſſors for the future.

[a] *Herodian*'s Life of *Severus*.

[b] This Fatality continu'd in the Reign of *Alexander*. *Artaxerxes* who re-eſtabliſh'd the *Perſian* Empire, made it formidable to the *Romans*, becauſe their Soldiers either through Caprice or a libertine Diſpoſition deſerted in great Multitudes to the King of *Perſia*.

[c] Namely the *Perſians*, who follow'd their Example.

It

It is very remarkable, that in the long Series of thoſe Civil Wars that were continually raging, the Chiefs, who were ſupported by the Legions of *Europe*, generally defeated the Leaders of the *Aſiatic* Legions; and we read, in the Hiſtory of *Severus*, that he could not take the City of *Atra* in *Arabia*, becauſe the *European* Legions having mutinied, he was oblig'd to employ thoſe of *Syria*.

This Difference became evident, when the Levies were firſt made [d] in the Provinces, and it appear'd as conſiderable in the Legions, as it did in the Nations out of which they were rais'd, and who by Nature or Education were more or leſs form'd for War.

Another unhappy Conſequence likewiſe enſued from theſe Provincial Levies, for the Emperors, who were generally elected

[d] *Auguſtus* fix'd the Legions to particular Stations in the Provinces. The Levies were originally rais'd at *Rome*, after that among the *Latins*, in *Italy* next, and laſt of all in the Provinces. When *Cicero* was in his Government abroad, he wrote to the Senate in theſe Terms: "You "cannot place any Confidence in the Levies rais'd in "this Country: *Bibulus* was commiſſion'd to furniſh "ſome out of *Aſia*, but he never would proceed in "that Affair". When *Veſpaſian* was proclaim'd Emperor by the Armies of *Syria* and *Judæa*, he employ'd none but the Legions of *Mœſia*, *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, in his Wars againſt *Vitellius*. *Severus* defeated the *Aſiatic* Legions of *Niger*, and *Conſtantine* thoſe of *Licinus*.

out of the Soldiery, were for the moſt part Strangers, and ſometimes the worſt of Barbarians. *Rome* was now no longer Miſtreſs of the World, but receiv'd Laws from the whole Univerſe.

Each Emperor brought with him ſome Peculiarity from his own Country, relating to Faſhions, Manners, Politics or Religion; and *Heliogabalus* had even form'd a Reſolution to deſtroy every Object of religious Veneration in *Rome*, and to baniſh all the Gods from their Temples, that he might place his own in their Room.

This Circumſtance, even conſider'd as independent on the ſecret Operations of the Deity, which are obvious to his Omniſcience alone, greatly contributed to the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity; for nothing was now ſtrange in the Empire, and the People were prepar'd to reliſh every new Cuſtom which the Emperors were inclinable to introduce.

It is well known, that the *Romans* receiv'd the Gods of other Nations into their City; but then they receiv'd them with the Air of Conquerors, and carried them in their triumphal Proceſſions: But when Strangers attempted to eſtabliſh them by their own Authority, they were immediately rejected. It is likewiſe notorious, that the *Romans* gave foreign Deities the Names of ſuch of their own Gods as were moſt conformable to the

others,

others, in their Attributes: But when the Prieſts of other Countries would introduce the Adoration of their Divinities, under their proper Names, among the *Romans*, they were not permitted to accompliſh that Deſign; and this was the greateſt Obſtacle to the Progreſs of Chriſtianity.

CARACALLA, who ſucceeded *Severus*, may be call'd not only a Tyrant, but the Deſtroyer of Mankind: *Caligula*, *Nero* and *Domitian* limited their Barbarities to *Rome*; but this Monſter endeavour'd to ſhed his Fury thro' the World like a Peſtilence.

Severus amaſſed prodigious Treaſures by the Exactions of a long Reign, and his Proſcriptions of thoſe who declar'd for his Competitors in Empire.

Caracalla having commenc'd his Reign with murdering his Brother *Geta*, with his own Hands, purchas'd with thoſe Riches a Connivance at his Crime, from the Soldiers who had an extraordinary Regard for *Geta*; but the Liberalities of *Caracalla* had ſuch an Effect upon them, that they declar'd they had taken Oaths to both the Children of *Severus*, and not to one alone.

The immoderate Treaſures which have been gather'd by Princes have commonly produc'd fatal Effects: They generally corrupt the Succeſſor, who grows dazzled with the Luſtre they diffuſe; and if they happen not to pervert his Heart, they miſguide his Mind,

Mind, and cauſe him to form Plans of mighty Enterprizes, by the Miniſtration of a Power that is only accidental, always tranſitory and unnatural, and an empty Inflation inſtead of a real Grandeur.

Caracalla, to ſoften the Horror of his Fratricide, inſtituted divine Honours to his Brother *Geta*; and, what was very peculiar, he himſelf receiv'd the ſame Deification from MACRINUS, who after he had caus'd him to be ſtabb'd, and was deſirous of appeaſing the Prætorian Bands, who regretted the Death of a Prince whoſe Liberalities they had ſo often enjoy'd, erected a Temple, and eſtabliſh'd a Prieſthood of *Flamins* in his Honour.

This preſerv'd his Memory from all degrading Imputations, [e] and the Senate not daring to cenſure him, he was not rank'd among the Tyrants, like *Commodus*, who had not done more to deſerve that Title than himſelf.

As to the Two great Emperors *Adrian* and *Severus* [f], one eſtabliſh'd and the other relax'd the military Diſcipline, and the Events exactly correſponded with their Cauſes: The Reigns which ſucceeded that of *Adrian* were a Series of Happineſs and

[e] *Ælius Lampridius in Vita Alexand. Severi.*

[f] See the Abridgment of *Xiphil.* in the Life of *Adrian*, and *Herodian* in the Life of *Severus*.

Tranquil-

Tranquillity; but after the Death of *Severus*, nothing was ſeen but a Succeſſion of Calamities and Horrour.

Caracalla had confin'd himſelf to no Limitations in his Prodigality to the Soldiers, and in that Particular he acted conformably to the Sentiments of his Father, who, on his Death-Bed, advis'd him to enrich the Army and diſregard all the reſt of Mankind.

But theſe Politicks could be only accommodated to one Reign; for the Succeſſor, being no longer able to continue thoſe Expences, was ſoon aſſaſſinated by the Army: So that the Emperors who were eminent for Wiſdom, were always murder'd by the Soldiers; and thoſe, whoſe Lives were infamous, were deſtroy'd either by the Conſpiracies or Edicts of the Senate.

When a Tyrant ſuffer'd himſelf to be entirely influenc'd by the Army, and left the Citizens expos'd to their licentious Depredations, ſuch injurious Proceedings could not be extended beyond the Period of one Reign; becauſe the Soldiers, in conſequence of their Devaſtations, impoveriſh'd the People, and defeated themſelves of their Pay by that Event. It therefore became neceſſary to reform the military Diſcipline, which was a Project always fatal to the Perſon who preſum'd to attempt it.

When *Caracalla* loſt his Life by the Treachery of *Macrinus*, the Soldiers, in Deſpair at the Death of a Prince whoſe Liberality had been diſpens'd to them with an unlimited Flow[g], elected HELIOGABALUS, and when he by his Proſtitution to infamous Pleaſures, and the lawleſs Extravagancies he ſuffer'd the Army to commit, grew contemptible even in their Eyes, they diſpatch'd him by an Aſſaſſination. The ſame Fate attended ALEXANDER, who was preparing to reſtore the true military Diſcipline, and threatned to puniſh the Soldiers for their Miſconduct.

In this Manner a Tyrant, who inſtead of being ſollicitous for his Safety, affected an Ability to be criminal, periſh'd with the fatal Advantage of being murder'd a few

g Theſe liberal Donations to the Soldiers were introduc'd by an ancient Cuſtom, eſtabliſh'd in the Republic. The Perſon to whom a Triumph was decreed diſtributed a few *Denarii* among the Soldiers, out of the Money taken from the Enemy. During the Civil Wars, the Army and their General being equally corrupt, theſe Gifts became immenſe, tho' they were ſeiz'd out of the Citizens Effects; and the Soldiers claim'd a Diſtribution, even when there was no Booty to furniſh it. *Cæſar*, *Octavius*, and *Anthony*, frequently beſtow'd Five thouſand *Denarii* on a common Soldier, they doubled that Sum to the Officer of the Band, and gave proportionably to the reſt. A *Roman Denarius* was equal in Value to Ten of thoſe Pieces call'd *As*, and one *As* was equivalent to a Pound of Copper.

Days

Days before another who would willingly have been a better Man.

After the Death of *Alexander*, the Imperial Dignity was transferr'd to MAXIMIN, who was the firſt Emperor of Barbarian Extraction, and had been diſtinguiſh'd by his Strength and gigantic Stature.

This Prince and his Son were likewiſe ſlain by the Soldiers. The two firſt GORDIANS periſhed in *Africa*: MAXIMUS, BALBINUS, and the third GORDIAN were maſſacred: PHILIP, who had caus'd the young *Gordian* to be deſtroy'd, was himſelf ſlain with his Son; and DECIUS, who was choſen to ſucceed him, was murder'd in his turn by the Treaſon of GALLUS[h].

The *Roman* Empire was improperly ſo denominated at that time, and might rather be call'd an irregular Commonwealth, nearly reſembling the Ariſtocracy of *Algiers*, where the Militia, who are inveſted with the ſovereign Power, elect and depoſe the

[h] *Caſaubon* obſerves, on the *Hiſtoria Auguſta*, that during the Period of 160 Years which it comprehends, there were ſeventy Perſons, who juſtly or otherwiſe, had the Title of *Cæſar*. *Adeo erant in illo Principatu, quem tamen omnes mirantur, Comitia Imperii ſemper incerta.* *So uncertain, to the Aſtoniſhment of all, were the Elections in that Empire.* Which Circumſtance ſufficiently manifeſts the Difference between the *Roman* Government and that of *France*, where for the long Space of Twelve hundred Years, no more than Sixty three Kings have reign'd.

Magiſtrate they call the *Dey*, and it may perhaps be taken for a general Rule, that a military Government is, in ſome reſpects, a Republic rather than a Monarchy.

But leſt any one ſhould imagine the Soldiers had no other Share in the Government than what they extorted by their Diſobedience and Inſurrections, let it be aſk'd whether the Orations in which the Emperors addreſs'd themſelves to the Army, were not at laſt very correſpondent to thoſe which the Conſuls and Tribunes formerly made to the People? And tho' the Soldiers had no particular Place to aſſemble in, nor were under the Regulation of any certain Terms; tho' the Temper of their Minds was not uſually ſerene, their Proceedings conſiſting of Action rather than Deliberation, did they not however diſpoſe of the public Fortune with a ſovereign Authority? What was an Emperor but the Miniſter of a violent and tumultuous Government, and did not the Soldiers elect him for their own particular Convenience?

When the Army aſſociated into the Empire[i], *Philip*, the Prætorian Prefect of the Third *Gordian*, this Prince claim'd the Exerciſe of an undivided Command, but did not ſucceed in his Pretenſions; he then requeſted the Army to divide the Power equal-

[i] See *Julius Capitolinus.*

ly

ly between them, but to as little Effect; he next intreated them to leave him the Title of *Cæsar*, and was ſtill refus'd; he afterwards ſollicited them to create him Prefect of the Prætorian Bands, and met with the uſual Repulſe; till at laſt he was reduc'd to plead for his Life. The Army, in the Inſtance before us, exercis'd the Supreme Magiſtracy in their ſeveral Deciſions.

The *Barbarians* were at firſt unknown to the *Romans*, and for ſome time afterwards only incommodious, but at laſt they became formidable to them, by an Event altogether unparallel'd at that time, and which perhaps may never be equall'd hereafter. *Rome* had ſo effectually extinguiſh'd all Nations, that when ſhe at laſt was vanquiſh'd in her turn, the Earth ſeem'd to produce a new Race of Mankind, to accompliſh her Deſtruction.

Thoſe Princes who have large Dominions ſeldom find them border'd by any Territories conſiderable enough to be the Objects of their Ambition; and ſhould there be any ſuch, they would naturally be ſwallow'd up in a Series of Conqueſt. We will ſay they are bounded then by Sea and Mountains and vaſt Deſarts, where Sterility renders them contemptible. The *Romans* for this Reaſon ſuffer'd the *Germans* to range in their Foreſts and gloomy Wilds, and let the Northern Nations ſhiver amidſt the Po-

lar Snow; and yet thoſe inhoſpitable Regions produc'd a People, who at laſt enſlav'd the Conquerors of the World.

In the Reign of *Gallus* a mighty Collection of Nations, who afterwards became more celebrated, ſpread their Ravages thro' all *Europe*, and the *Perſians* having invaded *Syria*, abandon'd their Conqueſts only to preſerve their Booty.

The miſerable Diſorders which had ſo long been ſpringing up in the ſeveral Succeſſions of the Emperors, were now come to their fatal Maturity, and that Period which was concurrent with the Cloſe of VALERIAN's Reign, and the Duration of that of his Son GALLIENUS, produced Thirty Pretenders to the Empire, the greateſt part of whom being ſwept away by their mutual Contentions, their Devaſtations were limited to a ſhort Reign; and they gain'd nothing durable but the Appellation of the Thirty Tyrants.

Valerian having been taken Priſoner by the *Perſians*, and his Son *Gallienus* neglecting the public Affairs, the Barbarians penetrated into all Parts, and the Empire was now in the ſame Condition it was afterwards reduc'd to in the Weſt[k], at the

[k] An Hundred and fifty Years after this Event, the Barbarians invaded the Empire in the Reign of *Honorius*.

Cloſe

Cloſe of another Century, and it would then have felt its laſt Convulſions, had not a happy Conjunction of Events interpoſed for its Preſervation.

ODENATUS, Prince of *Palmyra*, and one of the *Roman* Allies, diſlodg'd the *Perſians*, who had invaded the greateſt part of *Aſia*: *Rome* furniſh'd an Army of its own Citizens, and they effectually deliver'd it from the *Barbarians* who came to pillage their City: An innumerable Army of *Scythians*, who put to Sea in a Fleet of Five thouſand Ships, entirely periſh'd by Storms, Fatigue and Famine, and even by their formidable Grandeur; and *Gallienus* being at laſt ſlain, CLAUDIUS, AURELIAN, TACITUS and PROBUS, who happily ſucceeded him, and were four extraordinary Princes, ſnatch'd the Empire from the Verge of Ruin.

CHAPTER XVII.

Changes in the STATE.

THE Emperors, to prevent the continual Treaſons of the Army, aſſociated into the Government proper Perſons in whom they might confide, and DIOCLESIAN, under pretext of the Weight and Multiplicity of the public Affairs, eſtabliſhed a Law, that there ſhould always be Two Emperors and as many *Cæſars*. He judg'd that by this Proceeding, the four principal Armies being poſſeſs'd by the Partners in the Empire, would naturally intimidate one another, and that the inferior Armies being too weak to have any Thoughts of raiſing their Chiefs to the Imperial Dignity, their Cuſtom of Election would be gradually diſcontinu'd, and entirely aboliſh'd at laſt. Beſides, the Dignity of the *Cæſar*'s being always ſubordinate, that Power, which, for the Security of the Government, was in the Participation of Four, would be exercis'd in its full Extent by no more than Two.

The Soldiers were likewiſe reſtrain'd from their Exorbitances by conſidering, that as the Riches of particular Perſons as well as the public Treaſure were conſiderably diminiſh'd, the Emperors were in no Condition to offer them ſuch large Donations as formerly,

formerly, and conſequently the Gratuities would be no longer proportionable to the Danger of a new Election.

We may add to this, that the Prefects of the Prætorian Bands, whoſe Power and Employments rendred them the Grand Viſiers of thoſe Times, and frequently tempted them to murder their Emperors, in order to raiſe themſelves to the Throne, were greatly reduc'd by *Conſtantine*, who diveſted them of all but their Civil Functions, and augmented their Number to Four inſtead of Two.

The Lives of the Emperors began now to be in greater Security, and they might reaſonably expect to die peaceably in their Beds. This Circumſtance ſeems in ſome meaſure to have ſoftned their Diſpoſitions, and they no longer ſhed human Blood with the barbarous Prodigality of their Predeceſſors. But as the immenſe Power they ſtill poſſeſs'd muſt needs have ſome particular Tendency, it began to manifeſt it ſelf in a Species of Tyranny leſs glaring than the former. The Subjects were no longer affrighted with inhuman Maſſacres, but then they were haraſs'd by unjuſt Sentences and Forms of Judicature, which ſeem'd to defer Death only to render Life it ſelf uncomfortable. The Court govern'd, and was likewiſe ſway'd in its Turn, by a greater Variety of Artifices and a more exquiſite

Train of political Refinements, which were conducted with greater Silence than uſual. In a word, inſtead of an unterrified Diſpoſition to form a bad Action, and a cruel Precipitation to commit it, thoſe gigantic Iniquities ſhrunk into the Vices of weak Minds, and could only be called languid Crimes.

A new Train of Corruption was now introduc'd, the firſt Emperors purſu'd Pleaſures, but theſe ſunk into Softneſs. They ſhew'd themſelves with leſs Frequency to the Soldiers, were more indolent and fonder of their Domeſtics, more devoted to the Palace, and more abſtracted from the Empire.

The Poiſon of the Court grew more malignant in proportion to the Diſguiſe it aſſum'd. All direct Terms were diſus'd in Diſcourſe, and diſtant Inſinuations became the Dialect of the Palace. Every ſhining Reputation was ſullied, and the Miniſters as well as the Officers of the Army were perpetually left to the Diſcretion of that ſort of People, who, as they cannot be uſeful to the State themſelves, ſuffer none to ſerve it with Reputation and Glory. In a word, that Affability of the firſt Emperors, which alone qualify'd them for an Inſight into their Affairs, was now entirely diſcarded. The Prince had no Informations, but what were conveyed to him by the Canal of a few Favourites,

vourites, who being always in Concert together, and even when they ſeem'd to diſagree in their Opinions, were only in the Province of a ſingle Perſon to their Sovereign.

The Reſidence of ſeveral Emperors in *Aſia*, and their perpetual Competition with the Kings of *Perſia*, made them form a Reſolution to be ador'd like thoſe Monarchs; and *Diocleſian*, tho' others ſay *Galerius*, publiſh'd an Edict to that Effect.

This pompous Imitation of the *Aſiatic* Pride being once eſtabliſh'd, the People were ſoon habituated to ſuch a Spectacle, and when *Julian* would have regulated his Conduct by a modeſt Simplicity of Manners, that Proceeding which was no more than a Renovation of the ancient Behaviour, was imputed to him as a reproachful Inattention to his Dignity.

Tho' ſeveral Emperors had reign'd after *Marcus Aurelius*, yet the Empire was undivided; and as the Authority of thoſe Princes was acknowledg'd in all the Provinces, it was but one Power tho' exerciſ'd by many Perſons.

But GALERIUS [a] and CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, being at Variance with each other, divided the Empire in Reality, and this Example, which was afterwards fol-

[a] See *Oroſius*, L. VII. and *Aurelius Victor*.

low'd by CONSTANTINE, who purſu'd the Plan of *Galerius* and not that of *Dioclesian*, introduc'd a Cuſtom which might be call'd a Revolution rather than a Change.

We may likewiſe add, that the ſtrong Deſire of *Conſtantine* to be the Founder of a new City, and an Impulſe of Vanity to diſtinguiſh it by his own Name, determin'd him to transfer the Seat of Empire to the Eaſt. Though *Rome* was far from being ſo ſpacious within the Walls as it is at preſent, yet the Suburbs were prodigiouſly extenſive: *Italy* was fill'd with Seats of Pleaſure, and might properly be call'd the Garden of *Rome*. The Huſbandmen were in *Sicily*, *Africa* and *Egypt*[b]; but the Gardeners liv'd altogether in *Italy*. The Lands were generally cultivated by the Slaves of the *Roman* Citizens, but when the Seat of Empire was eſtabliſh'd in the Eaſt, all *Rome* was in a manner tranſplanted to that Situation. Thither did the Grandees ſend their Slaves, or in other Words, the greateſt part of the People, and *Italy* was almoſt exhauſted of its Inhabitants.

[b] Corn, ſays *Tacitus*, was formerly exported from *Italy* to the diſtant Provinces, and it is not a barren Land now, but we cultivate *Africa* and *Egypt*, and chooſe to expoſe the Lives of the *Roman* People to Danger.

It

It was *Conſtantine*'s Intention that the new City ſhould not be inferior in any particular to the old one, and therefore he took Care to have it ſufficiently ſupply'd with Corn, commanding all the Harveſt of *Egypt* to be ſent to *Conſtantinople*, and conſigning that of *Africa* to *Rome*, which does not ſeem to have been a very judicious Proceeding.

Whilſt the Republick ſubſiſted, the People of *Rome*, who were then the Sovereigns of all other Nations, became naturally intituled to a Proportion of the Tribute: This Circumſtance induced the Senate to ſell them Corn, at firſt, for a low Price, and afterwards to make a gratuitous Diſtribution of it among them; and when Monarchy it ſelf was introduced, this latter Cuſtom was ſtill continued, tho' entirely oppoſite to the Principles of that Form of Government. 'Tis true, the Abuſe remained unrectified through an Apprehenſion of the Incoveniencies that would have riſen from its Diſcontinuance; but when *Conſtantine* founded a new City he eſtabliſhed the ſame Cuſtom without the leaſt Appearance of Reaſon.

When *Auguſtus* had conquered *Egypt*, he conveyed the Treaſure of the *Ptolemys* to *Rome*, and this Proceeding occaſioned much the ſame Revolution, which the Diſcovery of the *Indies* afterwards effected in *Europe*, and which ſome ridiculous Schemes have

have ſince accompliſhed in our Time. The Revenue was doubled at *Rome*, [c] and as that City continued to abſorb all the Riches of *Alexandria*, which was it ſelf the Repoſitory of the Treaſures of *Africa* and the Eaſt; Gold and Silver by theſe Means became very common in *Europe*, and the People were able to pay very conſiderable Taxations even in Money.

But when the Empire was afterwards divided, all theſe Riches flowed in a full Tide to *Conſtantinople*; and we may add to this unhappy Circumſtance, that the Mines in *Germany* [d] had not then been opened; that thoſe of *Italy* and *Gaul* were very few and inconſiderable, and that the Mines of *Spain* had not been worked ſince the *Carthaginians* loſt that Country, or at leaſt they were not ſo productive as formerly; *Italy* it ſelf was now a continued Waſte of forſaken Gardens, and conſequently could not be in any Condition to draw Money from the Eaſt, whilſt the Weſt at the ſame Time was drained of all its Wealth, by the oriental Merchants who ſupplied the Inhabitants with their neceſſary Commodities. Gold and Silver,

[c] *Sueton.* in *Auguſt. Oroſ.* l. 6. The *Macedonian* Treaſures which had been carried thither cauſed all Tributes to ceaſe: *Unius Imperatoris præda finem attulit tributorum.* Cic. de Offic. l. 2.

[d] *Tacitus de moribus Germanorum*, declares this in expreſs Terms.

by

by theſe Means, became extremely ſcarce in *Europe*, and yet the Emperors extorted the ſame pecuniary Tributes as formerly, which compleated the general Deſtruction.

When a Government has been eſtabliſhed in one certain Form, and its political Circumſtances are adjuſted to a particular Situation, it is generally prudent to leave them in that Condition; for the ſame Cauſes which have enabled ſuch a State to ſubſiſt, tho' they may frequently be complicated and unknown, will ſtill continue to ſupport it; but when the whole Syſtem is changed, Remedies can only be accommodated to the Inconveniencies viſible in the Theory, whilſt others, which nothing but Experience can point out, are lurking without Oppoſition, in the new Plan.

For theſe Reaſons, tho' the Empire grew already too great, yet it was effectually ruined by the Diviſions into which it was parcelled, becauſe all the Parts of this vaſt Body, had for a long ſeries of Time been arranged ſo as to become ſettled and ſteady, and were compacted by a mutual Dependency through the whole.

Conſtantine, [e] after he had weakened the Capital, proceeded to impair the Fontiers

[e] This Account of *Conſtantine's* Proceedings no way contradicts the Eccleſiaſtical Writers who declare they confine themſelves to thoſe Actions of this Prince which by

by drawing off thoſe Legions who were ſtationed on the Banks of great Rivers, and diſtributing them into the Provinces; this Innovation was extremely prejudicial in more Inſtances than one; for as the Barrier which comprehended ſo many Nations was now removed; ſo the Soldiers [f] paſſed all their Time, and grew effeminate in the Circus and the Theatres [g].

When *Julian* was ſent by *Conſtantius* into *Gaul*, he found that fifty Towns on the Rhine, [h] had been taken by the *Barbarians*, that the Provinces were all plundered, and that there was now no more than the Shadow of a *Roman* Army, which fled at the very mention of the Enemies Name.

had any Relation to Religion, without concerning themſelves with the political Tranſactions in that Reign. *Euſeb.* Life of *Conſtantine*, l. 1. c. 9. *Socrates* l. 1. c. 1.

[f] *Zozimus* l. 2.

[g] After the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, the Combats of Gladiators were very ſeldom exhibited, and *Conſtantine* prohibited them by his Authority; but this barbarous Cuſtom was not entirely aboliſhed till the Time of *Honorius*. The *Romans* retained nothing of their ancient Shows, but what tended to emaſculate their Minds and allure them to pleaſure. In former Times, the Soldiers before they took the Field were entertained with a Combat of Gladiators, to habituate them to the Sight of Blood and Weapons of War, and to inſpire them with Intrepidity when they engaged the Enemy. *Jul. Capit.* Life of *Maximus* and *Balbinus*.

[h] *Ammian. Marcellin.* l. 16, 17, and 18.

This

This Prince by his Wiſdom, [i] and Perſeverance, join'd with Oeconomy Conduct and Valour, and proſpered by a noble Series of heroic Actions, chaſed the *Barbarians* out of their new Settlements, and his Name became a Terror as long as he lived [k].

No Prince ſaw the Neceſſity of reſtoring the ancient Plan, more than VALENTINIAN. His whole Life was employed in fortifying the Banks of the *Rhine*, making Levies, raiſing Caſtles, placing Troops in proper Stations, and furniſhing them with Subſiſtance on thoſe Frontiers; but an Event that afterwards happen'd, determined his Brother VALENS to open the *Danube*, and that Proceeding was attended with very dreadful Conſequences.

That Tract of Land which lies between the *Palus Mæotis*, the Mountains of *Caucaſus* and the *Caſpian* Sea, was inhabited by a numerous People who compoſed the great Part of the Nation of the *Huns* or that of the *Alans*; the Soil was exceeding fertile; the Inhabitants were fond of Wars and Robberies; and were always either on Horſeback or in their Chariots, and wandred about the Country wherein they were

[i] *Ammian Marcellin.* ibid.

[k] See the noble Panegyrick made by *Ammianus Marcellinus* on this Prince, l. 25.

incloſed;

incloſed: They ſometimes made Depredations on the Frontiers of *Perſia* and *Armenia*; but the Ports of the *Caſpian* Sea were eaſily guarded, and it was difficult for them to penetrate into *Perſia*, by any other Avenues; and as they imagined it impracticable to croſs the *Palus Mectis*, they were altogether unacquainted with the *Romans*, ſo that whilſt other Nations of *Barbarians* ravaged the Empire, theſe confined them within the Limits which their Ignorance had drawn around them.

It has been the Opinion of ſome, [l] that the Slime which was rolled down by the Current of the *Tanais*, had by Degrees formed a Kind of Incruſtation on the Surface of the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, over which theſe People are ſuppoſed to have paſſed. Others [m] inform us, that two young *Scythians* being in full Purſuit of a Hind, the terrified Creature ſwam over that Arm of the Sea, upon which the Youths immediately following her in the ſame Track, were exceedingly aſtoniſhed to find themſelves in a new World; and at the Return to the old one, they gave their Countrymen [n] a particular Account of the ſtrange Lands, and, if I may be indulged in the

[l] *Zozimus.* l. 4.

[m] *Jornandes de rebus Geticis.* The Miſcellaneous Hiſt. of *Procopius.*

[n] *Vide Sozomen.* l. 6.

Expreſ-

Expreſſion, the inviting *Indies* they had lately diſcovered.

Upon this Information, an innumerable Army of *Huns* immediately paſſed thoſe Streights, and meeting firſt with the *Goths*, made that People fly before them. It ſhould ſeem as if theſe mighty Countries poured their Nations out precipitately upon one another, and that *Aſia* had acquired a new Weight to make it preponderate the *European* Power.

The *Goths* fled in the utmoſt Conſternation to the Banks of the *Danube*, and with a ſuppliant Air intreated the *Romans* to allow them a Place of Refuge. The Flatterers [o] of VALENS improved this Conjuncture, and repreſented it as a fortunate Conqueſt of a new People, who by the Acceſſion of their Numbers would defend and enrich the Empire.

VALENS ordered them to be admitted into his Territories, upon delivering up their Arms, [p] but his Officers ſuffered them

[o] *Ammian. Marcellin.* l. 29.

[p] Several of thoſe who had received theſe Orders abandoned themſelves to a brutal Paſſion for ſome of the male Refugees, others were enſnared by the Beauty of the young *Barbarians* of the other Sex, and became the Captives of their female Slaves: A third Sort were corrupted by Preſents in Money, Linen Habits, and fringed Mantles, and all their Thoughts only tended to enrich their Houſes with Slaves, and to ſtock their Farms with Cattle. *Dexip.*

to repurchaſe with their Money as many as they pleaſed; they were afterwards diſtributed into ſeveral Allotments of Land; but the *Goths*, [q] contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Huns*, did not cultivate the Portions of Ground aſſigned them. They were even left deſtitute of the promiſed Supplies of Corn, and were ready to periſh amidſt a Land of Plenty; they were armed for War, and yet unjuſtly inſulted. In Conſequence of theſe Provocations they ravaged all the Country from the *Danube* to the *Boſphorus*; they deſtroyed VALENS and all his Army, and repaſſed the *Danube* only to quit the hideous Solitude they had effected by their Devaſtations [r].

[q] See the *Gothick* Hiſtory by *Priſcus*, who has ſet this Difference of Cuſtoms in a clear Light. It may be aſked perhaps, how it was poſſible for Nations who never cultivated their Lands, to be ſo powerful, when thoſe of *America* are ſo very weak: It is becauſe People who follow a paſtoral Life are furniſhed with a better Subſiſtence, than thoſe who live by the Chace.

It appears by the Account given by *Ammianus Marcellinus* that the *Huns* in their firſt Settlements did not manure their Lands, and only ſubſiſted on their Flocks and Herds in a Country that abounded with rich Paſtures, and was watered with many Rivers; ſuch is the Practice of the Inhabitants of little *Tartary*, which is Part of the ſame Country. And it is probable that the Nations we have been ſpeaking of, having, after their Migrations from their native Land, ſettled in Countries that afforded little or no Paſturage for their Cattle, applied themſelves to the Cultivation of the Soil.

[r] See *Zozimus* l. 4. See alſo *Dexippus's* Extract of the Embaſſies of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

An Account of ſome new Maxims received by the Romans.

SOmetimes, the Puſilanimous Spirit of the Emperors, and frequently the Defenceleſs State of the Empire, made the People employ their Money to appeaſe the Nations who threatned to invade them; but the deſired Peace could never be effectually purchaſed, becauſe thoſe who ſold it could, whenever they pleaſed, oblige the *Romans* to buy it again.

It is much better to hazard an unſucceſsful War, than to part with great Sums for a precarious Peace; for a Prince is always reſpected when it is known he will make a long Reſiſtance before he can be vanquiſhed.

Beſides, ſuch Gratifications as theſe were changed into Tribute at laſt, and tho' they were free at the Beginning, they became neceſſary in the Event, and paſſed for an acquired Property: For which Reaſon, when an Emperor refuſed them to ſome particular People, or was not diſpoſed to give them ſo much as they demanded, they immediately declared themſelves his mortal Enemies. To produce an Inſtance or two, from a thouſand: the Army which *Julian* led

led againſt the *Perſians*, [a] was purſued in its Retreat from the Eaſt, by the *Arabians*, to whom the Cuſtomary Tribute had been refuſed; and in a ſhort time afterwards, in the Reign of *Valentinian*, the *Germans* [b] who had been offered more inconſiderable Preſents than uſual, grew exaſperated at that diſobliging Frugality, and theſe Northern People being already influenced by a Point of Honour avenged themſelves, for this pretended Inſult, by a cruel War.

All thoſe Nations who ſurrounded the Empire in *Europe* and *Aſia*, exhauſted it by Degrees of its Riches; and as the *Romans* derived their Grandeur and Power from the Gold and Silver, which flowed into the Empire from the Coffers of ſo many Kings; they now grew weak and deſpicable, [c] becauſe the ſame Gold and Silver was drained from them by other Nations.

[a] *Ammian. Marcellin.* l. 24.

[b] *Idem.* l. 26.

[c] You would willingly be rich, *ſaid Julian to his mutinous Army*, there's *Perſia* for your Purpoſe, let us march thither; for believe me, all the Riches of the *Roman* Republic are now no more, our Poverty is owing to thoſe who perſuaded our Princes to purchaſe Peace from the *Barbarians*. Our Treaſury is exhauſted, our Cities are in Ruins, and our Provinces look dreadful with Deſolation. An Emperor who knows no Riches but thoſe of the Mind is not aſhamed to acknowledge a vertuous and irreproachable Poverty. You may revolt if you are ſo diſpoſed; for my Part, either

The.

The Miſconduct of Politicians is not always voluntary, but happens frequently to be the unavoidable Conſequence of their particular Situation, and therefore one Inconvenience is generally the Offspring of another.

The Army as we have already declared, became very expenſive to the State, and the Soldiers had three Sorts of Advantages; their Ordinary Pay, Donations of Recompenſe after their Services, and accidental Liberalities, which were often claimed as ſtated Properties by a Body of Men who had both Princes and People in their Power.

The Inability of the People to furniſh theſe Expences, obliged them to employ a leſs chargeable Soldiery, and Treaties were ſtruck up with barbarous Nations, who had neither the Luxury of the *Roman* Army, nor the ſame Spirit and Pretenſions.

There was another Advantage, beſides this; for as the *Barbarians* poured their Troops into a Country with the greateſt Precipitation, the *Romans* being unprovided for their Reception and finding it ſometimes

Death ſhall relieve me, for I ſcorn a Life of which the leaſt Feaver can deprive me, as effectually as my Sword; or I will retire from the World, for I have not paſſed my Days in ſuch a Manner as to be incapable of a private Life. *Amm. Marcell.* l. 24.

difficult

difficult to raiſe Levies in the Provinces, were obliged to hire another Party of *Barbarians*, who were always mercenary, and eager for Battle and Plunder. This Expedient had its Uſe in the preſent Emergency, but when that was over, the *Romans* found it as difficult to rid themſelves of their new Allies, as of their Enemies themſelves.

The ancient *Romans* never ſuffered the auxiliary Troops to outnumber their own, in their Armies; [d] and tho' their Allies might properly be reputed their Subjects, yet they had no Inclination to let thoſe Subjects be better Warriors than themſelves.

But in the latter Times, this Proportion of the Auxiliaries was not only diſregarded, but even the national Troops were compoſed of *Barbarian* Soldiers.

Thus were Cuſtoms eſtabliſhed, quite oppoſite to thoſe which had render'd the *Romans* Maſters of the World, and as the Genius of their former Politics always prompted them to reſerve the military Art to themſelves, and exclude their Neighbours from any Participation of its Princi-

[d] This Obſervation is made by *Vegetius*, and it appears from *Livy*, that if the Auxiliaries ſometimes exceeded the *Romans* in Number, the Superiority was very inconſiderable.

ples,

ples, they now extinguiſhed it in their own People, and eſtabliſhed it among Foreigners.

Take this *Compendium* of the *Roman* Hiſtory; they ſubdued all Nations, by their Maxims, but when they had ſo far ſucceeded, their Republic could not ſubſiſt any longer; the Plan of their Government muſt be changed, and Maxims contrary to the firſt, being then introduced, they were diveſted of all their Grandeur.

Fortune never interpoſes in the Government of this World, and we may be convinced of this Truth by the *Romans*, who enjoyed a continual Series of Proſperity when they regulated their Conduct by one invariable Plan; but they ſuffered an uninterrupted Train of Calamities, when they acted upon different Principles. There are a ſet of general Cauſes, either Moral or Phyſical, which operate in every Monarchy, and either raiſe and mantain it, or elſe involve it in Ruin. All accidental Conjunctures are ſubordinate to theſe Cauſes; and if the Hazard of a Battle, which in other Words is no more than a particular Cauſe, has been deſtructive to a State, ſome General Cauſe preſided and made a ſingle Battle be the inevitable Ruin of that State. In a Word, the Tendency of the main Prin-

ciple draws after it all the particular incidents.

We are ſenſible, that for two Centuries paſt, the *Daniſh* Troops have been generally defeated by the *Swedes*, we may therefore conclude, that, independent of the Bravery of the two Nations, and the Chance of War, either their civil or military Government is diſconcerted by ſome ſecret Flaw which produces this Effect, and I am of Opinion it may eaſily be diſcovered.

In a Word, the *Romans* loſt their military Diſcipline, and even neglected it in their very Arms. *Vegetius* [e] acquaints us, that the Soldiers finding them too ponderous, obtain'd the Emperor *Gratian's* Permiſſion to quit their Coats of Mail; and ſoon after their Helmets, and when their Bodies were thus defenceleſs, they grew attentive to nothing but Flight.

The ſame Author adds, they had loſt the Art of fortifying their Camp, and that by this Negligence they were eaſily overwhelmed by the *Barbarian* Horſe.

The *Romans* arrived at univerſal Monarchy not only by the Arts of War, but likewiſe by their Wiſdom, their Perſeverance, their paſſion for Glory, and their

[e] *De re Militari*, l. 1. c. 20.

heroic

heroic Love for their Country: and when even theſe Virtues diſappeared under the Emperors, and they had only the Art Military among them, yet this alone, notwithſtanding the Weakneſs and Tyranny of their Princes, enabled them to preſerve their former Acquiſitions. But when Corruption had at laſt inſinuated it ſelf among the Soldiery, they became the Prey of every Nation.

An Empire founded by Arms, muſt likewiſe have Arms for its Support. But as a People, when their State is in Confuſion, are at a Loſs how to rectify their civil Diſorders; in the ſame Manner, when they enjoy a profound Peace, and are reſpected for their Power, they never imagine this calm Scene may change, and conſequently neglect their military Force, from whence as they have nothing more to hope, ſo they fancy they have all things to fear, and ſometimes proceed ſo far as to weaken that Baſis of their Welfare.

It was an inviolable Law among the *Romans*, that whoever abandoned his Poſt or quitted his Arms in the Combat, ſhould be puniſhed with Death. *Julian* and *Valentian*, had reinforced the ancient Penalties in this Particular, but the *Barbarians* who

were taken into the *Roman* Pay, [f] and were accuſtomed to make War in the Manner now practiſed by the *Tartars*, who flie in order to rally, and are more ſollicitous for plunder than martial Reputation, were incapable of conforming to ſuch ſevere Regulations.

The Diſcipline of the ancient *Romans* was ſo ſtrict, that they have had Generals who ſentenced their own Child to die, for gaining a Battle without their Orders: But when they were intermixed with the *Barbarians*, they contracted from that Aſſociation, the ſame Spirit of Independency which marks out the Character of thoſe Nations; and ſuch who read the Wars of *Beliſarius* with the *Goths*, will ſee a General very frequently diſobeyed by his Officers.

Sylla and *Sertorius* amidſt the Fury of Civil Wars would rather die than ſuffer any Action to be committed from whence *Mithridates* could derive the leaſt Advantage; but in the ſucceeding Times, when a Mini-

[f] They would not ſubmit to the *Roman* Diſcipline. See *Ammianus Marcellinus* l. 18. who relates it as an extraordinary Circumſtance, that they condeſcended in one Inſtance to pleaſe *Julian*, who intended to fortify ſeveral Places belonging to the State.

ſter

ſter [g] or any Grandee imagined it would be favourable to his Avarice, his Revenge, or Ambition to admit the *Barbarians* into the Empire, he immediately permitted them to give a looſe to their Depredations.

No State is more neceſſitated for Tributes, than thoſe who are weak, becauſe this Circumſtance obliges them to augment their Charges in Proportion to the People's Inability to defray them; and therefore the Tributes in the *Roman* Provinces became inſupportable.

It would not be improper to read *Salvian*'s [h] Account of the horrible Exactions that were charged upon the People. The Citizens were ſo harraſſed by the Farmers of the Revenue, that they were obliged either to ſeek a Refuge among the *Barbarians*, or ſurrender their Liberty to the firſt of their inſatiable Countrymen who would accept of ſuch a Preſent.

[g] This was not to be wondered at in that Mixture of Nations, who had been uſed to a wandring Life, and had no Knowledge of any Country of their own, ſince entire Bodies of them would frequently ſide with the Enemy who had conquered them, even againſt their own Nation. See *Procopius*'s Account of the *Goths* under *Vitiges*.

[h] See his whole fifth Book, *de Gubernatione Dei*. See alſo in the Account of the Embaſſy written by *Priſcus*, the Speech of a *Roman* who had ſettled among the *Huns*, on his Happineſs in that Country.

[i] This may account for the Relations we find in our *French* Hiſtory, of the Patience with which the *Gauls* ſupported a Revolution calculated to eſtabliſh that ſhocking Diſtinction between a gallant Nation, and a Community of ſervile Wretches, I ſay between a Nation who retained their Liberty and military Privileges, and an ignoble Body of People, who were deſtined by the Laws of their Servitude, to cultivate the Land, and which was to be the conſtant Employment of each individual.

[i] The *Barbarians* introduced nothing but what had been practiſed with greater Severity before their Settlement in thoſe Parts. See *Salvian* l. 5.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XIX.

Some Particulars of the Grandeur of ATTILA. *The Eſtabliſhment of the Barbarians accounted for. Reaſons why the Weſtern Empire was overturn'd, before that in the Eaſt.*

AS Chriſtianity was eſtabliſh'd when the Empire was in a declining Condition, the Profeſſors of this Religion reproach'd the Pagans for that Decay, and theſe retorted the Charge on the religious Doctrines of their Antagoniſts. The Chriſtians reply'd, that *Diocleſian* [a] ruin'd the Empire, by aſſociating his Three Colleagues; becauſe each Emperor would be altogether as expenſive, and maintain'd as great Armies as could have ſubſiſted had there been but one Sovereign; in conſequence of which, thoſe who furniſh'd the Contributions being unequally proportion'd to the Number of the Receivers, the Charge became ſo exceſſive, that the Lands were forſaken by the Huſbandmen, and for want of Cultivation lay waſte, and were cover'd with wild and barren Foreſts.

The Pagans, on the other hand, were perpetually exclaiming againſt the ſtrange Innovations in Religion, introduc'd by their

[a] *Lactantius, de morte Perſecutor.*

Adverſaries and never heard of till thoſe Days; and as the Overflowings of the *Tyber*, and other prejudicial Effects of Nature, were, in the flouriſhing State of *Rome*, aſcrib'd to the Diſpleaſure of the Gods; ſo the Calamities of declining *Rome* were imputed to a religious Novelty, and the Subverſion of the antient Altars.

Symmachus the Prefect, in a Letter [b] to the Emperors, relating to the Altar of Victory, attack'd the Chriſtian Religion with Arguments extremely popular, and conſequently very ſeducing, and had Art enough to ſet them off with all the Plauſibility Invention could furniſh.

What Circumſtance, ſays he, can lead us more effectually to the Knowledge of the Gods, than the Experience of our former Proſperity? We ought to be faithful to ſuch a Series of Ages, and purſue the ſame Track in which our Fathers ſo happily follow'd their Anceſtors. Imagine *Rome* her ſelf ſpeaks to you in this Manner: O Imperial Princes! Compaſſionate Fathers of your Country! Look with Eyes of Veneration on thoſe Years of mine, wherein I always conform'd to the Ceremonies of my Predeceſſors. Thoſe ſacred Inſtitutions have made the Univerſe obedient to my Laws. Theſe were the Allies that chaſed *Hannibal* from

[b] Letters of *Symmac.* L. X. *l.* 54.

my

my Walls, and drove the *Gauls* in Confuſion from the Capitol. We fervently aſk Peace for the Gods of our Country, nay we ſollicit it in the Anguiſh of our Souls, for our Compatriot Deities! We have no Inclination to engage in Diſputes which are only proper for idle Perſons, and we would expreſs our ſelves in the Language of Supplication, and not of War.

Symmachus was anſwer'd by Three celebrated Authors. *Oroſius* compoſed his Hiſtory to prove there had always been Calamities in the World, as great as thoſe complain'd of by the Pagans. *Salvian* likewiſe writ his Book [c], wherein he maintains, that the Ravages of the Barbarians were to be imputed to the degenerate Behaviour of the Chriſtians: And St. *Auſtin* [d] demonſtrates, that the City of Heaven is very different from that City on Earth, in which the ancient *Romans* receiv'd, for a few human Virtues, a Recompence as vain as the Virtues themſelves.

We have already obſerv'd, that part of the Politics of the ancient *Romans* conſiſted in dividing all the Powers that gave them any Umbrage; but that Sceme was defeated in after Times, and *Rome* could not prevent ATTILA from conquering all the Northern

[c] Of the Government of the Deity.
[d] Of the City of GOD.

Nations: He extended his Victories from the *Danube* to the *Rhine*, demoliſh'd all the Forts and military Works on the Banks of thoſe Rivers, and made both the Empires tributary.

THEODOSIUS, ſaid he[e], with an inſolent Air, is deſcended from a Father as noble as mine, but the Moment I compell'd him to pay Tribute to me, he fell from the Grandeur of his Extraction, and became my Vaſſal; and therefore 'tis unjuſt in him to act like a baſe Slave, and endeavour to prejudice his Maſter by Treachery.

An Emperor, ſaid he, upon another Occaſion, ought not to be a Liar; he promiſed one of my Subjects to give him the Daughter of *Saturnilus* in Marriage, and I will immediately declare War againſt him, if he preſumes to depart from his Word; but if the Diſobedience of thoſe about him put it out of his Power to be punctual, I will march to his Aſſiſtance.

It is not to be imagin'd that *Attila* was induc'd by any Moderation and Lenity of Temper, to let the *Romans* ſubſiſt; he only conform'd himſelf to the Genius of his Nation, which prompted them to awe, and not to conquer foreign States. This Prince

[e] Hiſtory of the *Goths*, and Relation of the Embaſſy, written by *Priſcus*. This Emperor was *Theodoſius* the Younger.

retiring

retiring from the Splendor of Majeſty to his Manſion built of Wood, according to the Repreſentation of *Priſcus*[f]; though at the ſame time he was Lord of all the barbarous Nations, and in ſome degree Maſter of the chief part of thoſe who were civiliz'd[g], was one of the greateſt Monarchs recorded in Hiſtory.

Ambaſſadors were diſpatch'd to his Court, both from the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empires of the *Romans*, to receive his Laws and implore his Favour. Sometimes he commanded them to deliver up the *Huns* who had deſerted from his Armies, or the *Roman* Slaves who had eſcap'd from the Vigilance of his Officers. At other times he would not be ſatisfy'd till ſome Miniſter of the Emperor was ſurrender'd into his Power. He charg'd the Empire of the Eaſt with a Tribute of Two hundred thouſand Pounds of Gold; he receiv'd the yearly Sum allowed to a *Roman* General, and ſent thoſe he

[f] Hiſtory of the *Goths*, *Hæ ſedes Regis Barbariem totam tenentis; hæc captis Civitatibus habitacula præponebat. This was the Manſion in which the Monarch of all the Barbarian Nations reſided; this the Habitation which he preferr'd to the ſtately Cities he had conquer'd.* Jornande *de Rebus Geticis.*

[g] It appears by the Account given by *Priſcus*, that the Court of *Attila* had ſome Thoughts of ſubjecting even the *Perſians.*

intended to reward to *Conſtantinople*, that they might be gratify'd to their utmoſt Wiſh, making by this Means a conſtant Traffic of the Apprehenſions of the *Romans*.

He was fear'd by his Subjects[h], but we have no Reaſon to believe they entertain'd any Averſion to his Perſon: He was ſurprizingly fierce and impetuous, and at the ſame time exceeding politic and artful. He appear'd violent in his Rage, but had a ſufficient Preſence of Mind to know when to pardon an Offence or defer a Puniſhment, as the Circumſtances were more or leſs agreeable to his Intereſt. War was never his Choice, when he could derive ſufficient Advantages from Peace. He was faithfully ſerv'd even by the Kings who were ſubordinate to his Power; and had collected into his own Conduct all the ancient Simplicity of the Northern Manners. In a word, we can never ſufficiently admire this gallant Sovereign of a People, whoſe very Children were warm'd with enthuſiaſtic Rage, at the Relation of their Father's Bravery; whilſt thoſe Fathers ſhed manly Tears, becauſe they were incapacitated by Age to imitate their martial Children.

[h] *Jornandes* and *Priſcus* have drawn the Character of this Prince, and deſcrib'd the Manners of his Court.

All

All the Barbarian Nations, after his Death, were divided into ſeveral independent Bodies; but the *Romans* were then ſo weak, that the moſt inconſiderable People were in a Condition to moleſt them.

The Empire was not ruin'd by any particular Invaſion, but ſunk gradually under the Weight of the ſeveral Attacks made upon it, after that general Aſſault it ſuſtain'd in the Time of *Gallus:* It ſeem'd indeed, to be reeſtabliſh'd, becauſe none of its Territories were diſmembred from the main Body; but it was ſtooping to its Fall by ſeveral Degrees of Declenſion, till it was at once laid low in the Reigns of ARCADIUS and HONORIUS.

In vain did the *Romans* chaſe the Barbarians from their Settlements in the Empire; that People, without any Compulſion would have retir'd, to depoſite their Spoils in their own Country. With as little Succeſs did *Rome* endeavour to exterminate that Nation, ſince her Cities were ſtill ſack'd [i], her Villages conſum'd with Flames, and her Families either ſlaughter'd or diſpers'd.

[i] The *Goths* were certainly a pernicious Nation, they deſtroy'd all the Huſbandmen in *Thrace*, and cut off the Hands of every Charioteer. *Byzantine* Hiſtory of *Malchus*, in the Extract of the Embaſſies.

When

When one Province had been waſted, the Barbarians who ſucceeded the firſt Ravagers, meeting with nothing for their Purpoſe, proceeded to another. Their Devaſtations at firſt were limited to *Thrace*, *Myſia*, and *Pannonia*, and when theſe Countries were ruin'd, they deſtroy'd *Macedonia*, *Theſſaly* and *Greece*; from thence they expatiated to *Noricum*. The Empire, that is to ſay, thoſe Tracts of Land which were not depopulated, was continually ſhrinking, and *Italy* at laſt became the Frontiers.

The Reaſon why the Barbarians eſtabliſhed themſelves in no fix'd Settlements in the Reigns of *Gallus* and *Gallienus*, was becauſe the Countries about them had ſomething left that was worth plundering.

Thus the *Normans*, who in ſome meaſure reſembled the Conquerors of the Empire, ravag'd *France* for ſeveral Centuries, and when at laſt they could find no more Booty, they thought fit to accept of a depopulated Province, and parcell'd it into ſeveral Properties.

Scythia in thoſe Times, lying waſte and uncultivated [k], the Inhabitants were fre-

[k] The *Goths*, as we have intimated, did not cultivate their Lands.

quently

quently ſubject to Famine, and ſubſiſted in a great meaſure by their Commerce with the *Romans*[l], who furniſh'd them with Proviſions from the Provinces bordering on the *Danube*. The Barbarians in return gave them the Booty and Priſoners they had taken, and the Gold and Silver which the *Romans* paid them for their Friendſhip. But when the Empire could no longer afford them a ſufficient Tribute for their Subſiſtence[m], they were oblig'd to fix themſelves in ſome Settlement.

The Weſtern Empire was deſtroy'd before that in the Eaſt, for theſe Reaſons.

When the Barbarians paſſed the *Danube*, they found themſelves block'd up on the left Hand by the *Boſphorus* of *Thrace*, the City of *Conſtantinople*, and all the Forces of the

The *Vandals* call'd them *Trulli*, which was the Name of a ſmall Meaſure, becauſe they once ſold them ſuch a Meaſure of Corn very dear, in a Famine. *Olympiodor. in Biblioth. Phot.* L. XXX.

[l] *Priſcus* relates in his Hiſtory, that Markets were eſtabliſh'd by Treaties on the Banks of the *Danube*.

[m] When the *Goths* ſent to deſire *Zeno* to receive *Theuderic* the Son of *Triarius* into his Alliance, on the Terms accorded by him to *Theuderic* the Son of *Balamer*, the Senate being conſulted on this Occaſion, ſaid the Revenues of the Empire were not ſufficient to ſupport two *Gothic* Nations, and that the Alliance of only one of them was to be conſented to. Malchus's *Hiſtory, in the Extract of the Embaſſies.*

Eaſtern

Eaſtern Empire; this made it neceſſary for them to bend their March to the Right towards *Illyria*, and ſo proceed weſtward. That part of the Country was then crowded with a vaſt conflux of ſeveral Nations; and, as the Paſſages into *Aſia* were the beſt guarded, the whole Body of the People bore with a full Tide into *Europe*, whereas the Forces of the Barbarians were ſeparated in their firſt Invaſion.

The Empire being parcel'd out into two great Portions[n], the Eaſtern Emperors who were then in Alliance with the Barbarians[o], would not break it to aſſiſt the Princes of the Weſt: And as all the naval Power was transferr'd to the Eaſt[p], as well as to *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Phœnicia*, *Ionia* and *Greece*, which were the only Countries where any Commerce was carry'd on; the *Vandals*[q],

[n] This Partition of the Empire was very prejudicial to the Affairs of the Weſtern *Romans*. *Priſcus*, L. II.

[o] *Honorius* was inform'd, that the *Viſigoths* had made a Deſcent into the Weſtern Empire, after an Alliance with *Arcadius*. Procop. *of the* Vandal *War*.

[p] When they deſir'd a Fleet of the Eaſtern *Romans*, they were refus'd by them, and they alledg'd for their Excuſe, that they were in Alliance with *Genſeric*. *Priſcus*, L. II.

[q] An Embaſſy was ſent to *Conſtantinople* by the *Italians*, to repreſent the Impoſſibility of ſupporting Affairs without a Reconciliation with the *Vandals*. *Priſcus*, L. II.

with

with their Barbarian Confederates, burſt like a Torrent into every part of the Weſtern Empire.

The Emperors of the Eaſt were ſtill more injurious than theſe fierce People; for as thoſe Princes were deſirous to diſencumber themſelves of ſuch troubleſome Neighbours, they perſuaded them to carry their Conqueſts into the Weſt. Thus *Zeno*, to rid himſelf of *Theodoric*, prevail'd upon him to invade *Italy*, which had already been ravaged by *Alaric*.

Rome might juſtly be call'd a City of no Force, and could eaſily be ſtarv'd by an Enemy. The vaſt Extent of its Walls made it almoſt impracticable for the Inhabitants to defend them; and, as it was ſituated in a Plain, it might be ſtorm'd without much Difficulty. Beſides this, no Recruits were to be expected, for the Number of People was ſo extremely diminiſh'd, that the Emperors were oblig'd to retire to *Ravenna*, a City once fortify'd by the Sea, as *Venice* is at this Time. The *Romans* being generally abandon'd by their Princes, began to take the ſovereign Power into their own Hands, and ſtipulated for their Safety by Treaties[r], which is the moſt likely Me-

[r] In the Time of *Honorius*, *Alaric*, who beſieged *Rome*, oblig'd that City to enter into an Alliance with

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thod of acquiring the Supreme Authority.

This was the fatal Period of the Weſtern Empire. *Rome* aſcended to ſuch a Height of Grandeur, becauſe the Scenes of her former Wars open'd in Succeſſion, and by an incredible Felicity of Affairs ſhe was never attack'd by one Nation till another had been firſt deſtroy'd; but *Rome* it ſelf was overwhelm'd at laſt, becauſe ſhe was invaded at once by all the Nations around her.

him, even againſt the Emperor, who was in no Condition to oppoſe it. Procop. *War of the* Goths, L. I. *Zozim.* L. VI.

Armorica and *Brittany* ſeeing themſelves forſaken, began to regulate themſelves by their own Laws. *Zozim.* L. VI.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XX.

1. *The Conqueſts of* JUSTINIAN. 2. *Some Account of his Government.*

AS this vaſt Body of People broke all at once like a Flood into the Empire, they mutually incommoded one another, and all the Politics of thoſe Times conſiſted in ſetting them at Variance together: This was a Circumſtance eaſy to accompliſh, their Avarice and fierce Diſpoſition greatly contributing to make it practicable. The largeſt part of them was therefore deſtroy'd before they could fix themſelves in any Settlement, and this was the Reaſon why the Empire of the Eaſt ſtill ſubſiſted for ſome time.

The Northern Regions were likewiſe exhauſted at laſt, and no longer pour'd out thoſe innumerable Armies they originally produced; for after the firſt Invaſion by the *Goths* and *Huns*, and eſpecially ſince the Death of *Attila*, theſe People and their Succeſſors appear'd in the Field with Force much inferior to the former in Number.

When the Nations, who aſſembled together in the Form of an Army, were diſtributed into peaceful Partitions of Lands, much of their martial Vivacity was abated,

and

and as they were ſcatter'd thro' the Countries they had conquer'd, they were expos'd themſelves to the ſame Invaſions.

In this Situation of Affairs, JUSTINIAN undertook the Recovery of *Africa* and *Italy*, and accompliſh'd the ſame Deſigns which the *French* ſo happily executed againſt the *Viſigoths*, the *Burgundians*, the *Lombards* and the *Saracens*.

When Chriſtianity was firſt planted among the *Barbarians*, the *Arian* Sect was predominant in the Empire, and VALENS ſent Prieſts to them, who were their firſt Apoſtles. Now in the Interval from their Converſion to their Eſtabliſhment, this Sect fell into Diſreputation among the *Romans*; for which Reaſons, when the *Barbarians* of this Perſuaſion found all the Country orthodox, and could never inſinuate themſelves into the Affections of the People, it was eaſy for the Emperors to incommode them.

We may likewiſe add, that the *Barbarians* being unqualify'd for the Siege of Towns, and much more ſo for their Defence, ſuffer'd the Walls to drop into Ruins. *Procopius* informs us, that *Beliſarius* found all the *Italian* Cities in this Condition; and thoſe of *Africa* had already been diſmantled by *Genſeric*[a], with a *Gothic* View of fortifying the Inhabitants.

[a] *Procop.* War of the *Vandals*, L. I.

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The Generality of theſe Northern People, after they had eſtabliſh'd themſelves in the Provinces of the South, ſoon degenerated into the unmanly Softneſs of thoſe Regions, and became incapable of the Fatigues of War[b]. The *Vandals* were emaſculated with Pleaſures; a luxuriant Table, an effeminate Habit, the Delicacy of Baths, the enervating Lull of Muſic, gay Dances, florid Gardens and ſplendid Theatres were now become their neceſſary Gratifications.

They no longer diſquieted the *Romans*[c], ſays *Malchus*[d], when they diſcontinu'd thoſe Armies which *Genſeric* perpetually kept prepar'd for any Expedition, and with which he prevented the Vigilance of his Enemies, and aſtoniſh'd all the World with the Rapidity of his Enterpriſes.

The Cavalry of the *Romans*, and that of the *Huns*[e] their Auxiliaries, were very ex-

[b] *Procop.* War of the *Vandals*, L. II.

[c] In the Time of *Honorius*.

[d] *Byzantine* Hiſtory, in the Extract of the Embaſſies.

[e] *Juſtinian* receiv'd ſignal Services from the *Huns*, a People from whom the *Parthians* ſprung, and theſe Deſcendants combated like their Anceſtors. When the *Huns* loſt all their Power by the Diviſions which the the great Number of *Attila*'s Children occaſion'd, they ſerv'd the *Romans* in the Quality of Auxiliaries, and formed their beſt Cavalry. Each of the barbarous Nations was diſtinguiſh'd by their particular Manner of combating as well as by their Arms. The *Goths* and *Vandals* were formidable at the drawn Sword; the *Huns* were

pert at drawing the Bow, but that of the *Goths* [f] and *Vandals* fought only with the Sword and Lance, and were unpractiſed in the diſtant Combat; for which Reaſon *Beliſarius* aſcribes part of his Succeſs to this Difference [g].

Juſtinian could not fit out more than fifty Ships againſt the *Vandals*, and when *Beliſarius* embarked he had but five thouſand Soldiers. This was undoubtedly a bold Expedition; and *Leo* who before that Time had ſent againſt the ſame People a Fleet of all the Ships in the Eaſt, and manned with a hundred thouſand Soldiers, could not conquer *Africa*, and was even in danger of loſing the whole Empire.

Theſe great Fleets have been as little ſucceſsful as very numerous Land Armies, for as they impoveriſh and unpeople a State, ſo ſhould the Expedition be of a conſiderable Length, or any Misfortune befall them they can neither be ſuccoured or recruited;

admirable Bowmen; the *Sueves* were ſerviceable Infantry; the *Alans* were heavily armed, and the *Heruli* were a flying Troop.

[f] See *Procopius*'s Hiſt. of the Wars of the *Vandals*, l. 1. and his War of the *Goths*, l. 1. The *Gothic* Bowmen fought on foot, and were but indifferently diſciplined.

[g] The *Romans* having ſuffered their Infantry to be weakened, placed all their Force in the Horſe, and the more ſo becauſe they were obliged to ſpring ſuddenly to every Part to check the Incurſions of the *Barbarians*.

and

and if one Part be loſt, the other becomes inſignificant; becauſe Ships of War, as well as Tranſports, Cavalry, Infantry, Ammunition, in a Word all the particulars, have a neceſſary Dependance on the whole: The Tardineſs of an Enterpriſe makes thoſe who engage in it always find the Enemy prepared to receive them; beſides ſuch an Expedition is ſeldom made in a proper Seaſon, and generally overtaken by the ſtormy Months, becauſe ſuch a vaſt Number of Preparations are hardly ever compleated till the Seaſon is too far advanced.

Beliſarius invaded *Africa*, and very advantagiouſly ſupplied himſelf with Proviſions from *Sicily*, in Conſequence of a Treaty made with *Amalaſonta* Queen of the *Goths*. When he was ſent to attack *Italy*, he took Notice that the *Goths* received their Subſiſtance from *Sicily*, and therefore began his Expedition with the Conqueſt of that Iſland, by which Proceeding he at the ſame Time ſtarved his Enemies, and plentifully ſupplied his own Army with all Accommodations.

Beliſarius took *Carthage*, *Rome*, and *Ravenna*, and ſent the Kings of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, Captives to *Conſtantinople*, where the ancient Triumphs were renewed after a long Interval of Years [h].

[h] *Juſtinian* only granted him a Triumph for *Africa*.

The

The extraordinary Qualities of this great Man [i], naturally account for his Succeſs. A General who was Maſter of all the Maxims of the firſt *Romans* was then at the Head of ſuch an Army as that brave People anciently compoſed.

Virtues that are very ſhining are generally concealed or loſt in Servitude, but the tyrannical Government of *Juſtinian*, could not oppreſs the Grandeur of that Soul nor the noble Superiority of ſuch a Genius.

Narſes the Eunuch was thrown into this Reign to make it ſtill more illuſtrious: As he had received his Education in the Palace he was honoured with a greater Share of the Emperor's Confidence; for Princes always eſteem their Courtiers the moſt faithful of their Subjects.

On the other Hand, the irregular Conduct of *Juſtinian*, his Profuſions, Tyranny and Rapine, his intoxicated Fondneſs for Building, changing and reforming, his Inconſtancy in his Deſigns, a ſevere and weak Reign, made ſtill more incommodious by a lingring old Age, were a Train of real Calamities, intermixed with unprofitable Succeſs, and a falſe Glitter of unſubſtantial Glory.

Theſe Victories were not the Effect of any ſolid Power ſubſiſting in the Empire,

[i] See *Suidas* under the Article *Beliſarius*.

but

but reſulted from the lucky Conjunction of ſome particular Circumſtances, and were ſoon rendered ineffectual; for whilſt the Army was purſuing its fortunate Beginnings, a new ſwarm of barbarous Nations paſſed the *Danube* and ſpread Deſolation through *Illyria*, *Macedonia* and *Greece*, and the *Perſians* in four Invaſions weakened the Empire with incurable Wounds.

The more rapid theſe Conqueſts appeared, the leſs durable was their Foundation, and *Italy* and *Africa* were hardly wreſted from the Enemy, before it became neceſſary to recover them a ſecond Time by new Victories.

Juſtinian had taken from the Theatre a [k] Woman who had long proſtituted herſelf to immodeſt Pleaſures, and ſhe governed him with an Authority that has no Parallel in Hiſtory, perpetually intermixing his Affairs with the Paſſions and fanciful Inconſiſtences of her Sex, in Conſequence of which ſhe defeated the victorious Progreſs of his Arms, and diſconcerted the moſt favourable Events.

The Eaſtern People were always accuſtomed to a Plurality of Wives in order to deprive the Sex of that ſtrange Aſcendant they maintain over Man in our Climates,

[k] The Empreſs *Theodora*.

but as *Polygamy* was prohibited by Law at *Conſtantinople*, that Circumſtance reſigned the Empire to the Will of a Female, or, in other Words, abandoned the Government to the Miſmanagement of many natural Frailties.

The People of *Conſtantinople* had for many Years been divided into two Factions denominated the *Blew* and the *Green:* They derived their original from the Approbation uſually given in the Theatres to ſome particular Actors, and when Races were exhibited in the Circus the *Charioteers* who were dreſſed in green diſputed the Prize with thoſe who were habited in blew, and each of theſe Spectators became intereſted even to Madneſs, in the Competition of thoſe Colours.

Theſe two Factions being diffuſed through all the Cities in the Empire proportioned their Animoſities to the Rank and Grandeur of thoſe Cities, or, as we may juſtly ſay, to the Indolence and idle Lives of the generality of the People.

But tho' ſuch Diviſions are always neceſſary in a Republick, and may be conſidered as eſſential to its Support, they are infallibly deſtructive to an arbitrary Government becauſe they can only change the Perſon of the Sovereign, but never contribute

tribute to the Eſtabliſhment of the Laws or the Diſcontinuation of Abuſes.

Juſtinian who favoured the Faction of the *Blew* [l], and denied all Juſtice to the *Green*, increaſed the mutual Inveteracy of both Parties, and conſequently ſtrengthen'd them in the State.

Theſe contending Parties proceeded ſo far as even to diſannul the Authority of the Magiſtrates: The *Blews* were in no Apprehenſion of the Laws becauſe the Emperor protected them againſt their Severity, and the *Greens* [m] began to diſregard them becauſe they could not defend them from Inſults.

All the Bands of Friendſhip, Affinity and Gratitude, were cut aſunder and whole Families deſtroyed each other: Every Villain who intended to be remarkably wicked belonged to the Faction of the *Blew*, and every Man who was either robbed or aſſaſſinated was a Partiſan for the *Green*.

[l] This political Diſtemper was of ancient Date, for *Suetonius* tells us that *Caligula*, becauſe he was attack'd to the *Green* Faction, hated the People who applauded the other.

[m] The Reader may form a good Idea of the Spirit of thoſe Times, by conſulting *Theophanes* who relates a long Converſation in the Theatree between the Emperor and the *Greens*.

We may add, that the Government, was, if poſſible, more cruel than ſenſeleſs, and the Emperor not ſatisfied with the general Injuſtice of loading his Subjects with exceſſive Impoſitions, reſolved to ruin them in their private Affairs by all imaginable Tyrannies.

I am far from entertaining an implicit Belief of all the Particulars related by *Procopius* in his ſecret Hiſtory, becauſe the pompous Commendations he, in his other Works, beſtows on this Prince, may make his Veracity a little queſtionable in this, where he paints him out as the moſt ſtupid and inhuman Tyrant that ever lived.

On the other Hand there are two Circumſtances which incline me to pay ſome Regard to this ſecret Hiſtory; for in the firſt Place, the Particulars ſeem better connected with the aſtoniſhing Weakneſs which diſcovered it ſelf at the latter End of this Reign, and in thoſe of the ſucceeding Emperors.

The other Circumſtance is that Monument which ſtill exiſts among us, and is a Collection of the Laws of this Emperor, which in the Courſe of a few Years preſent us with greater Variations than are to be found in our Laws for the three laſt Centuries of our Monarchy.

These Variations [n] generally relate to Matters of so little Importance that we can see no Reasons to induce a Legislator to make them, unless we refer to the secret History for a Solution, and acknowledge that this Prince exposed his Judgments and his Laws equally to sale.

But the political State of the Government received the greatest Injury from his Project of establishing a general Uniformity of Opinion in Matters of Religion, and in Circumstances that render'd his Zeal as indiscreet as possible.

The ancient *Romans* fortified their Empire by indulging all Sorts of religious Worship; but their Posterity destroyed it by rooting out the various Sects, whose Doctrines were not predominant.

These Sects were composed of entire Nations, some of which, as the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, had retained their ancient Religion after they were conquered by the *Romans*, others were dispersed through the Country, as the Followers of *Montanus*, in *Phrygia*, the *Manichees*, the *Sabbatarians*, the *Arians*, in the other Provinces, besides which, the generality of the People in the Country, continued in Idolatry, and were

[n] See the Institutes of *Justinian*.

infatuated with a Religion as groſs as their Underſtandings.

Theſe Sects *Juſtinian* cauſed to be extirpated, by the military as well as the civil Power, and the perſecuted People, revolting in their own Defence, he thought himſelf obliged to exterminate them from the Empire, in conſequence of which he depopulated ſeveral Provinces, and whilſt he imagined himſelf increaſing the Number of the faithful, he was only diminiſhing the Race of Mankind.

Procopius aſſures us that *Paleſtine*, by the Deſtruction of the *Samaritans*, was changed into a Deſart; and this proceeding was the more ſingular, becauſe, the very Zeal which weakened the Empire, in order to eſtabliſh Religion, ſprung out of the ſame Quarter from whence the *Arabians* afterwards ſallied with an Intention to ſubvert it.

But nothing could be more aggravating, than that the Emperor whilſt he was ſo averſe to all Toleration himſelf, ſhould yet diſagree with the Empreſs in the moſt eſſential Points; he followed the Council of *Chalcedon*, and ſhe favoured its oppoſers; whether, as *Avagrius* ſays °, they were ſin-

° L. 4. c. 10.

cere

cere in this proceeding or not, is uncertain.

When we read *Procopius*'s Deſcription of *Juſtinian's* Buildings, and the Forts and other Places of Defence he erected in all Parts, it naturally raiſes in our Minds the Idea of a flouriſhing State, but that Idea happens to be very deluſive.

The ancient *Romans* had none of theſe Fortifications, but placed all their Security in their Armies, which they diſtributed along the Banks of Rivers, and raiſed Towers at proper Diſtances for the Lodgment of the Soldiers.

Afterwards indeed, when they had but very indifferent Armies, and frequently none at all, the Frontiers [p] could not defend the Countries they limited, and therefore it became neceſſary to ſtrengthen them; the Conſequence of which was, they had

[p] *Auguſtus* eſtabliſhed nine ſuch Frontiers, the Number of which encreaſed in the following Reigns when the *Barbarians* began to appear in ſeveral Parts; and *Dion.* l. 55. that in his Time, when *Alexander* was Emperor, there were thirty, as appears by the *Notitia Imperii* written ſince the Reigns of *Arcadius* and *Honorius:* There were fifteen even in the Eaſtern Empire, and the Number was perpetually increaſing. *Pamphylia, Lycaonia,* and *Piſidia* were made Frontiers, and the whole Empire was covered with Fortifications, till at laſt *Aurelian* was obliged to fortify *Rome* it ſelf.

more Fortifications, and leſs Force; many Places for Retreat, and very few for Security; the Country was only habitable about the Fortifications, and theſe were built in all Parts. The Condition of the Empire reſembled that of *France*, in the Time of the *Normans*, [q] which was never ſo Defenceleſs as when all its Villages were girt round with Walls.

We may venture to affirm therefore, that the whole Catalogue of *Juſtinian*'s Forts, which fills ſeveral Pages in *Procopius*, only exhibits to us ſo many Monuments of the Weakneſs of the Empire.

[q] And the *Engliſh*.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXI.

Diſorders in the Eaſtern Empire.

THE *Perſians*, during this Period, were in a much happier Situation than the *Romans*; they had little Reaſon to be apprehenſive of the Northern People [a], becauſe that Part of Mount *Taurus* which extends between the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* Seas ſeparated them from thoſe Nations, and they effectually ſhut up a very narrow Paſs, [b] which was the only practicable Avenue for the Cavalry; in every other Part the *Barbarians* were obliged to deſcend from frightful Precipices [c] and to quit their Horſes in which all their military Strength conſiſted; and beſides theſe Impediments they were blocked in by the *Araxes*, a River of great Depth, and which flows from Weſt to Eaſt, all the Paſſages of which were eaſy to be defended.

With all theſe Advantages the *Perſians* were in perfect Tranquillity with Reſpect to the Eaſtern Nations; on the South they

[a] The *Huns*.
[b] Called the *Caſpian* Streights.
[c] *Procopius* of the *Perſian* War. l. 1.

were bounded by the Sea, and the *Arabian* Princes, who were partly their Allies, and partly in Confederacy with the *Romans*, were totally engaged in pillaging one another. The *Perſians* therefore, had none whom they could properly call their Enemies but the *Romans*. We are ſenſible, ſaid an Ambaſſador of *Hormiſdas* [d], that the *Romans* are engaged in ſeveral Wars, and are at variance with almoſt all Nations, whilſt we, as they well know, have no Hoſtilities with any People but themſelves.

The *Perſians* had cultivated the military Art to as great a Degree as it was neglected by the *Romans*. *Belizarius* ſaid to his Soldiers, the *Perſians* are not your Superiour in Courage, and only ſurpaſs you in the Diſcipline of War.

They had likewiſe the ſame Superiority in the Cabinet as they preſerved in the Field, and demanded Tribute of the *Romans*, under a Pretence that they maintained Garriſons in the *Caſpian* Streights, as if each Nation had not a Right to guard its Frontiers. They obliged them to pay for Peace, and every Ceſſation of Arms, and did not ſcruple to make them purchaſe the very Time employed either in Negociations, or War.

[d] *Menanders* Ambaſſies.

The

The *Avari* having croſs'd the *Danube*, the *Romans* who had ſeldom any Troops to oppoſe them, being engag'd againſt the *Perſians* when they ſhould have given Battle to the *Avari*, and having full Employment from theſe when they ought to have fac'd the *Perſians*; were ſtill oblig'd to ſubmit to a Tribute; and thus the Majeſty of the Empire bow'd down before all Nations.

JUSTIN, TIBERIUS and MAURICE were very ſedulous to defend the Empire; the laſt of theſe Princes had ſome Virtues, but they were all ſullied by an Avarice almoſt incredible in a great Monarch.

The King of the *Avari* offer'd to reſtore all his *Roman* Priſoners to *Maurice*, if he would ranſom them at an inconſiderable Price for each Man; and this Propoſal being rejected, he caus'd them all to be inhumanly murder'd. The *Roman* Army was greatly exaſperated at this Proceeding, and the Faction of the *Greens* making an Inſurrection at the ſame time, a Centurion nam'd PHOCAS was rais'd to the Imperial Dignity, and he order'd *Maurice* and his Children to be put to Death.

The Hiſtory of the *Grecian* Empire, for ſo we ſhall denominate the Monarchy of the *Romans* for the future, is little more than a Series of Revolts, Seditions and Perfidy.

fidy. The Subjects had no Idea of the Loyalty due to Princes, and there were ſo many Interruptions in the Succeſſions of the Emperors, that the Title of *Porphyrogenitus*, which ſignifies one born in the Apartment where the Empreſs repos'd, was an Appellation which few Princes of the ſeveral Imperial Families could with any Propriety aſſume.

All the Paths that could be ſtruck out to Empire were unexceptionable; and the Candidates were conducted to the Diadem by the Clergy, the Senate, the Peaſants, the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, and the People of the Provincial Cities.

Chriſtianity being now the prevailing Religion of the Empire, was intermix'd with ſeveral ſucceſſive Hereſies, which call'd aloud for Condemnation. *Arius* having deny'd the Divinity of the WORD; the *Macedonians* that of the HOLY SPIRIT; *Neſtorius* the Unity of the Perſon of *Jeſus Chriſt*; the *Eutychians* his Two Natures; the *Monothelites* his Two Wills; it became neceſſary to convoke Councils againſt them: But their Deciſions not being univerſally receiv'd, ſeveral Emperors who had been ſeduc'd into theſe heretical Opinions, relapſed into the ſame Perſuaſions after they had been condemn'd; and as no Nation was ever ſo implacable againſt Heretics as the

Greeks, who even imagin'd themſelves polluted when they convers'd with any of that Claſs, or had any Cohabitation with them; ſeveral Emperors, in conſequence of that popular Averſion, loſt the Affections of their Subjects, and the People became perſuaded that Princes who were ſo frequently rebellious againſt God, could never be choſen by Providence to be their Sovereigns.

A new Opinion, form'd by an Idea that it was unlawful to ſhed Chriſtian Blood, and which daily grew more popular when the *Mohammedans* appear'd upon the Stage of military Action, was the Cauſe that Offences, in which Religion was not directly intereſted, were puniſh'd with great Moderation. Thoſe who had ſpirited up an Inſurrection, or fram'd any Attempt againſt the Perſon of the Prince, were only ſentenced to loſe their Eyes, to have their Hair or Noſes cut off, or to ſuffer ſome other Mutilation. As theſe Offences might be committed with very little Hazard, they might likewiſe be attempted without much Courage[e].

A certain Veneration for the Regalia of Imperial Majeſty drew the Eyes of all the

5 *Zeno* greatly contributed to this mean Relaxation of Juſtice. See the *Byzantine* Hiſtory of *Malchus*, cited in the Extract of the Embaſſies.

People

People on thoſe who preſumed to wear them, and it was criminal to be either habited in Purple, or to keep it in a Wardrobe; but when a Man had once the Reſolution to appear in that Dreſs, the Multitude immediately flock'd after him, becauſe their Reſpect was more attached to the Apparel than the Perſon.

Ambition receiv'd greater Provocatives ſtill, from the ſurprizing Infatuation of thoſe Times; and there was hardly a Man of any conſiderable Conſequence who could not accommodate to himſelf ſome Prediction that promiſed him the Empire.

As the Indiſpoſitions of the Mind are generally incurable[f], Judicial Aſtrology and the Art of pointing out Futurity by Objects ſeen in a Baſon of Water, ſucceeded among the Chriſtians, to the ſolemn Impoſture of Divination by the Entrails of Victims or the Flight of Birds, which had been aboliſhed with Paganiſm its Parent, and vain Promiſes became the Motives to moſt of the raſh Actions of particular Perſons, and conſtituted the Wiſdom of Princes Councils.

The Calamities of the Empire daily increaſing, it was natural to impute ill Suc-

[f] See the Life of *Andronicus Comnenus*, compiled by *Nicetas*.

ceſs

ceſs in War and diſhonourable Treaties in Peace to the injudicious Conduct of thoſe at the Helm.

One Revolution was now pregnant with another, and the Effect it ſelf became a Cauſe: And as the *Greeks* had ſeen ſuch a Succeſſion of different Families on the Throne, they were not devoted to any; and ſince Fortune had created ſo many Emperors out of all Claſſes of People, no Birth was ſo obſcure, and no Merit ſo inconſiderable as to be deſtitute of Hope.

Several Examples which had been familiar to the Nation, model'd the Genius of the People in general, and form'd a Syſtem of Manners which reign'd as imperiouſly as the Laws.

It ſhould ſeem that great Enterpriſes, among us, are more impracticable than they were to the Ancients; it is very difficult to conceal them, becauſe Intelligence is now become ſo manageable, that every Prince has Miniſters in each Court, and Traitors may poſſibly be lurking in all the Cabinets of Majeſty.

The Invention of Poſts has given Wings to Information, and can immediately waft it to all Parts.

As great Undertakings are not to be accompliſh'd without Money, and as Merchants are Maſters of it ſince the Invention of

of Bills of Exchange; their Affairs are always connected with the Secrets of State, and they neglect nothing to penetrate into thoſe Depths.

The Fluctuations in Exchange, without any viſible Cauſe, entice Numbers of People to ſearch after it, and ſome of them find it at laſt to their Coſt.

The Invention of Printing, which has put Books into the Hands of all the World; the Improvements in Engraving, which have made Geographic Charts ſo common; in a word, the Eſtabliſhment of political Papers, give every Individual a Knowledge of the general Intereſt, ſufficient enough to inſtruct him in all the private Tranſactions.

Conſpiracies in a State are now become very difficult, becauſe ſince the Eſtabliſhmen of Poſts, all the Secrets of particular Perſons are in the Power of the Public.

Princes may act with Promptitude, becauſe all the Power of the State is in their Poſſeſſion. Conſpirators muſt proceed with Caution, becauſe they are deſtitute of Expedients; and ſince at preſent all Tranſactions are more eaſily diſcover'd, thoſe who form Deſigns againſt a Government are generally detected before they can adjuſt their Schemes.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXII.

The Weakneſs of the Eaſtern Empire.

PHOCAS, amidſt the general Confuſion of Affairs, being unſettled in his new Dignity, HERACLIUS came from *Africa*, and caus'd him to be murder'd; at the ſame time he found the Provinces invaded and the Legions deſtroy'd.

As ſoon as this Prince had, in ſome meaſure, remedied theſe Diſaſters, the *Arabians* quitted their own Country, to extend the Empire and Religion which MOHAMMED had founded by their Cooperation.

No People ever made ſo rapid a Progreſs; for they immediately conquer'd *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, *Egypt* and *Africa*, and then turn'd their Hoſtilities againſt the *Perſians*.

God permitted his Religion to be laid low, in ſo many Places where it once had been predominant; not that it now ceas'd to be the Object of his providential Care, but becauſe it always either in its State of Glory or Depreſſion produces its natural Effect, which is the Sanctification of the Soul.

The

The Welfare of Religion has no Similitude to the Proſperity of Empires, and we are told by a celebrated Author, that it may well be diſtemper'd, ſince Malady it ſelf is the true State of a Chriſtian; to which we may add, that the Humiliations and Diſperſion of the Church, the Deſtructions of her Temples and the Perſecutions of her Martyrs, are eminent Seaſons of her Glory; but when ſhe appears triumphant to the Eyes of the World, ſhe is generally ſinking in Adverſity.

We are not to have Recourſe to Enthuſiaſm alone to clear up this memorable Event of the *Arabian* Conqueſts, which ſpread through ſo many Countries: The *Saracens* had been long diſtinguiſh'd among the Auxiliaries of *Rome* and *Perſia*; and they, as well as the *Oſroanians*, were the experteſt Archers in the World. *Alexander*, *Severus* and *Maximin* had engag'd them as much as poſſible in their Service, and they were extremely uſeful in the Wars with the *Germans*, to whom their Arrows were fatal at a great Diſtance. The *Goths* themſelves[a], in the Reign of *Valens*, were incapable of reſiſting them: In a word, they at that time were the beſt Cavalry in the World.

[a] Zozim. L. IV.

We

We have already obſerv'd, that the Legions rais'd in *Europe* were much preferable to thoſe of *Aſia*, but it was directly contrary with reſpect to the Cavalry; I mean that of the *Parthians*, the *Oſroanians*, and the *Saracens*. This was the Power that ſtopp'd the full Career of the *Roman* Conqueſts, becauſe, after the Death of *Antiochus*, a new Nation of *Tartars*, who had the beſt Cavalry of any People, made themſelves Maſters of the *Upper Aſia*.

This Cavalry was heavy[b], and that of *Europe* light, quite contrary to the preſent Nature of their military Equipage. *Holland* and *Friſeland* were not as yet won from the Waters; and [c] *Germany* was full of Woods, Lakes and Marſhes, where the Cavalry were of little Importance.

When a free Paſſage was open'd to the great Rivers, the ſtagnant Waters ſhrunk from thoſe Marſhes, and *Germany* aſſum'd a new Surface. Many Changes were effected by the Works of *Valentinian*[d] on the *Necker*, and thoſe of the *Romans* on the *Rhine*, and

[b] See the Account given by *Zoſimus* of the Cavalry of *Aurelian*, and that of *Palmyra*. See likewiſe what *Ammian. Marcellinus* relates of the *Perſian* Cavalry.

[c] The greateſt part of that Country was then cover'd with Water, but the Art of Man has ſince made it habitable and commodious.

[d] See *Ammian. Marcellin.* L. XXVII.

Commerce

Commerce being once eſtabliſh'd, thoſe Countries which did not originally produce Horſes[e], began to propagate the Breed, and the Inhabitants made great Uſe of thoſe Animals.

Conſtantine[f], the Son of *Heraclius*, having been poiſon'd, and his Son *Conſtance* ſlain in *Sicily*, CONSTANTINE the Bearded, his eldeſt Son, ſucceeded to the Empire, but that Grandees of the Eaſtern Provinces being aſſembled on this Occaſion, were determined to crown the other Brothers of this Prince conjunctly with himſelf; alledging, that as it was indiſpenſably neceſſary for them to believe in the Trinity, ſo it was reaſonable they ſhould be govern'd by Three Emperors.

The *Grecian* Hiſtory is crowded with Proceedings as extraordinary as this, and a low Turn of Mind being then the Characteriſtic of that Nation, their former Wiſdom was no longer conſpicuous in their Actions, and the Empire became a Scene of Troubles and Revolutions, to which it was impoſſible to aſſign any preparatory Motives.

An univerſal Bigotry had ſtupified and

[e] *Cæſar* repreſents the *German* Horſes as too ſmall, and good for little.

[f] *Zonaras*'s Life of *Conſtantine the Bearded.*

emaſ-

emaſculated the whole Empire. *Conſtantinople* was the only Place in the Eaſt where Chriſtianity was predominant, and likewiſe, where the puſillanimous Indolence, and degrading Softneſs of the *Aſiatic* Nations, were blended with Devotion it ſelf. Of a thouſand Inſtances that might be alledg'd, I ſhall only mention the Conduct of *Philippicus* the General of *Maurice*'s Army, who being on the point of charging the Enemy in the Field, burſt into Tears [g] when he ſuddenly conſider'd what Numbers of Mankind were then to be deſtroy'd.

The Tears of the *Arabians* [h] flow'd from a very different Source, when they wept with Regret that their General had agreed to a Truce which fruſtrated their intended Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood.

There is a total Difference between an Army of Fanatics, and another of Bigots; and it evidently appear'd in a late memorable Revolution, in which *Cromwell*'s Army reſembled the *Arabians*, whilſt the *Iriſh* and *Scotiſh* Forces were like the *Greeks*.

A groſs Superſtition [i] which debaſes the

[g] Hiſtory of the Emperor *Maurice* by *Theophylact.* L. II. c. 3.

[h] *Ockley*'s Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of *Syria*, *Perſia*, and *Egypt*, by the *Saracens*.

[i] We may eaſily believe the *Greeks* were infected with Idolatry, for the Reaſon we ſhall now offer: There

Mind

Mind as effectually as true Religion exalts it, had reduced all Vertue, and devout Confidence in the Deity, to a ſtupid Veneration for Images; and Hiſtory preſents us with Generals who would raiſe a Siege, [k] or ſurrender a City for [l] the gallant Acquiſition of a Relick.

Chriſtianity degenerated under the *Grecian* Empire into as many Corruptions as were intermixed with it in our Time by the *Muſcovites*, till the *Czar Peter* the firſt new modelled that Nation, and introduced more Changes into the Dominions he governed than are uſually eſtabliſhed in thoſe which Conquerors uſurp.

The Eaſt was on the point of being made the Scene of ſuch a Revolution, as happened about two Centuries ago in the Weſt, when,

can be no Suſpicion that the *Italians* and *Germans* were but coldly devoted to external Worſhip; and yet when the *Greek* Hiſtorians take notice of the Contempt expreſs'd by the *Italians* for Images and Relics, one would be apt to compare them with the modern Zealots againſt *Calvin*. *Nicetas* informs us, that the *Germans*, in their March to the *Holy Land*, were receiv'd by the *Armenians* as Friends, becauſe they did not offer any Adoration to Images. Now, if the *Italians* and *Germans* did not ſufficiently reverence Images, in the Apprehenſion of the *Greeks*, what an enormous Veneration muſt then be paid to them by this People?

[k] Life of *Lacapena* by *Zonarus*.

Life of *John Comnenus* by *Nicetas*.

upon

upon the Revival of Learning, the Abuſes and Corruptions in Religion became evident to all, and as every Perſon was inquiſitive after a proper Remedy, ſo there were ſome ſo bold and untractable as to rend the Church by Diviſions, inſtead of reſtoring it to its original Purity by a due Reformation.

LEO ISAURUS, CONSTANTINE COPRONYMUS and LEO his Son were implacable againſt Images, and when the Worſhip of them had been reeſtabliſhed by the Empreſs *Irene*, LEO *the Armenian*, MICHAEL *the Stammerer* and THEOPHILUS aboliſhed them again. Theſe Princes imagined they could not moderate that Worſhip unleſs they deſtroyed it effectually; they likewiſe turned their Hoſtilities againſt the *Monks* [m] who incommoded the State, and as their proceedings were always carries into Extreams, they endeavoured to exterminate that Fraternity inſtead of regulating them in a proper Manner.

The Monks [n] being accuſed of Idolatry by thoſe who favoured the new Opinions,

[m] *Valens*, many Years before this Event, made a Law to compel the Monks to ſerve the Government in the Army in Times of War, and cauſed all who diſobeyed that Injunction, to be ſlain.

[n] Theſe Circumſtances relating to the Monks, cannot fix any criminal Imputation on their Order in General; retorted

retorted, in their Turn, upon their Adverſaries, and accuſed them of magical Practices, [o] and then calling upon the People to behold the Churches, that were diveſted of Images, and the other Furniture, which, till that Time had been the Objects of Adoration, they created a Belief in their Flock, that theſe holy Places, muſt certainly be profaned by daily Sacrifices to *Læmons*.

The Controverſy relating to Images, was connected with very delicate Circumſtances which kindled it into a raging Flame, and in the Event made Perſons of ſolid Judgment incapable of propoſing a moderate Worſhip. The Diſpute included the tender Article of Power, and the Monks having ſeized it, in Conſequence of their ſpiritual Uſurpations, they could neither enlarge or maintain it but by making daily Additions to the Acts of external Adoration, wherein they were ſo conſiderably intereſted. For this Reaſon all Oppoſitions to the Eſtabliſhment of Images were conſidered as ſo many Hoſtilities againſt

for it would be unjuſt to repreſent an Inſtitution as pernicious becauſe it may happen to be abuſed in ſome particular Countries and at certain Periods of Time.

[o] *Leo* the Grammarian's Lives of *Leo* the *Armenian*, and *Theophilus*. *Suidas*, under the Article of *Conſtantine* the Son of *Leo*.

themſelves,

themſelves, and when they had ſucceeded in their Pretenſions their Power was no longer limitable.

This Period was remarkable for ſuch a Conjuncture as happened ſome Centuries afterwards in the warm Diſagreement between *Barlaam* and the *Monks* of that Time, which brought the Empire to the Verge of Deſtruction. The Subject of the Diſpute was whether the Light which encircled *Jeſus Chriſt* on Mount *Tabor* was created or not. The Monks indeed were indifferent as to either Part of the Queſtion in Debate, but as *Barlaam* made a direct Attack upon that Fraternity, they found it conſiſtent with their Intereſt to aſſert that Light to be uncreated.

The War which thoſe Emperors who were called *Iconoclaſts*, declared againſt the *Monks*, revived ſome particular Principles of Government, and offered a plauſible Pretence for employing the publick Revenue, for the publick Advantage, and for diſengaging the State from every Inconvenience that encumbered it.

When I conſider the profound Ignorance into which the *Grecian* Prieſts had plunged the Laity, it ſeems natural to compare the former to thoſe *Scythians* mentioned by *Herodotus*, [p] who cauſed the

[p] Lib. 4.

Eyes of their Slaves to be plucked out, that their Attention might not be diverted, when they were churning Milk for their Maſters.

When the Empreſs *Theodora* had reeſtabliſhed the Uſe of Images, the *Monks* immediately began to corrupt the public Devotion, and proceeded even to oppreſs the ſecular Clergy: They thruſt themſelves into every beneficial See, [q] and gradually excluded all Eccleſiaſticks from Epiſcopal Promotion. By this Proceeding they became unſupportable; and if we draw a Parallel between them and the *Latin* Clergy, and compare the Conduct of our *Popes* with that of the *Patriarchs* of *Conſtantinople*, we ſhall ſee in our Pontifs and Clergy, a ſet of Men altogether as judicious as the others were irrational.

We are preſented with a ſurprizing Contradiction in humane Nature, when we conſider that the Miniſters of Religion among the ancient *Romans*, when they were not made incapable of public Employments and civil Society, were but little ſollicitous about either; and that after the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity the Eccleſiaſticks, who were moſt ſecluded from temporal Affairs, engaged in them with the greateſt

[q] *Vide Pachymer.* l. 8.

Mode-

Moderation; but when the *Monks*, in the Declenſion of the Empire, became the ſole Clergy, theſe People who were forbidden by a more particular Profeſſion, to intermeddle with the Tranſactions of State, embraced all Opportunities that could poſſibly introduce them into the Government, and never ceaſed to fill every Place with Confuſion, and to diſcompoſe the World which they pretended to renounce.

There was not any Affair of the Empire, any particular Peace or War, any Truce or Negociation, or any private Treaty of Marriage capable of Completion without the Miniſtration of theſe *Monks*; they crowded into the Cabinets of Princes, and compoſed the greateſt Part of the national Aſſemblies.

The Calamities which reſulted from this irreligious Officiouſneſs are inconceivable: Theſe Eccleſiaſtic Stateſmen infuſed an indolent inſignificance into the Minds of Princes, and communicated a taint of Imprudence to their beſt Actions. Whilſt *Baſilius* employed his naval Forces in erecting a Church to the Honour of St. *Michael*[r], he abandoned *Sicily* to the Depredations of the *Saracens*, and ſuffered them

[r] See the Lives of *Baſilius* and *Leo* by *Zonaras* and *Nicephorus*.

to take *Syracuſe*; but leſt he ſhould be ſingular in that Proceeding, *Leo* his Succeſſor, conſigned his Fleet to the ſame Employment, and permitted the *Barbarians* to poſſeſs themſelves of *Tauromenia* and the Iſland of *Lemnos*.

Andronicus Paleologus [f] entirely neglected his maritime Power, becauſe he had been aſſured God was ſo well ſatisfied with his Zeal for the Church's Peace, that his Enemies would never preſume to invade his Dominions by Sea. He was even apprehenſive that the Deity would call him to a ſtrict Account for the Time he devoted to the neceſſary Affairs of State, and deducted from ſpiritual Attentions.

The *Greeks* being very loquacious, great Diſputants and naturally inclinable to Sophiſtry, were perpetually incumbring Religion with controverſial Points; and as the *Monks* were in great Reputation in a Court which was always weak in Proportion to its Corruption; that Court, and thoſe *Monks* mutually communicated Infection to each other, in Conſequence of which the Emperors devoted all their Thoughts, ſometimes to calm, and frequently to inflame Theological Diſputes, which were always obſerved to be moſt frivolous

[f] *Pachymer.* l. 7.

when

when they were debated with the greateſt Warmth.

Michael Palæologus[t], whoſe Reign was ſo infeſted by Controverſies in Religion, growing ſenſible of the melancholy Devaſtations committed by the *Turks* in *Aſia*, ſaid with a Sigh, that the raſh Zeal of ſome Perſons, who, by exclaiming againſt his Conduct had exaſperated his Subjects againſt him, made it neceſſary for him to employ all his Cares to accompliſh his own Preſervation, and compelled him to be a tame Spectator of the Ruin of ſeveral Provinces. I contented my ſelf, ſaid he, with providing for the Security of thoſe diſtant Parts, by the Miniſtration of Governors, who being either corrupted by the Enemy, or apprehenſive of Puniſhment, never acquainted me with the unhappy Situation of the People with whoſe Welfare they were intruſted.

The Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople* had aſſumed an unlimited Power, and as the Emperors and their Grandees generally retired to the Churches, when the People were ſpirited up to Inſurrections, the *Patriarchs* had conſequently an Opportunity of delivering them up to the popular Fury,

[t] *Pachymer.* l. 6. c. 29. We have had Recourſe to the Tranſlation of the preſident *Couſin.*

and never failed to exerciſe this Power as they were directed by any particular Fancy, by which Means they always became the Arbiters of publick Affairs, tho' in a very indirect Manner.

When the Elder *Andronicus* [v] cauſed the *Patriarch* to be admoniſhed not to intermeddle with the Tranſactions of State, but to confine his Attention to ſpiritual Affairs, ſuch a Requeſt, replied that imperious Prieſt, is as if the Body ſhould ſay to the Soul, I don't claim any Community with you, and have no Occaſion for your Aſſiſtance in the Exerciſe of my Functions.

Such monſtrous Pretenſions became inſupportable to Princes, and the *Patriarchs* were frequently diveſted of their Sees. But ſuch a Proceeding, in a ſuperſtitious Nation, who deteſted all the Eccleſiaſtical Functions of a *Patriarch* whom they conſidered as an intruder, produced continual Schiſms, each particular *Patriarch*, the old, the new, and the laſt elected, being ſupported by his own ſet of *Partiſans*.

Such Contentions as theſe were much more pernicious than any Diſagreements

[v] *Palæologus*. See the Hiſtory of the two Emperors of this Name written by *Cantacuzenus*, l. 1. c. 50.

on

on Points of Doctrine, becauſe they reſembled an Hydra to whom every Defeat was a Renovation.

The Rage of Diſputation became ſo natural to the *Greeks*, that *Cantacuzenus*, [w] when he took *Conſtantinople* found the Emperor *John* and his Empreſs engaged in a Council which had been ſummoned againſt ſome Adverſaries of the *Monks*: And when *Mohammed* the ſecond beſieged that City [x] the Emperor could not ſuppreſs the Theological Animoſities, and the Council of *Florence* [y] engaged the general Attention much more than the *Turkiſh* Army.

As every Perſon, in common Diſputes, is ſenſible he may be deceived, a tenacious and untractable Spirit ſeldom prevails to any Extream, but in thoſe Controverſies where Religion is the Subject, for there, as every Perſon from the Nature of the Point in Debate becomes perſuaded that his own Opinion is true, he grows exaſperated againſt thoſe who inſtead of concurring with

[w] *Cantacuzen.* l. 3. c. 99.

[x] Hiſt. of the laſt *Palæologi* by *Ducas.*

[y] The Queſtion in Debate was whether a Congregation who heard Maſs from a Prieſt who had conſented to pacifick Meaſures, ought not to have fled from him as if he had been a deſtructive Flame: The great Church was accounted a profane Temple, and the Monk *Gennadius* hurld his Anathema's againſt all who were deſirous of Peace.

his Sentiments, endeavour to make him a Convert to their own.

Thoſe who may happen to read the Hiſtory written by *Pachymerus*, will be effectually convinced of the unalterable Inability of Divines to accommodate their own Diſagreements, and will ſee an Emperor [z] who ſpent his Days in aſſembling People of that Claſs liſtning to their Diſputations and reproaching them for the Inflexibility of their Opinions: They will likewiſe behold another engaged with a Hydra of Controverſies that were perpetually riſing to new Life, and will be ſenſible that the ſame pacific Methods and perſevering Patience, the ſame Inclination to finiſh their Contentions; in a Word, the ſame artleſs Pliancy to their Intrigues joined with the ſame Deference to their Averſions will never reconcile theſe implacable Eccleſiaſtics while the World endures.

We ſhall preſent the Reader with a remarkable Inſtance of the Diſpoſition we have been deſcribing: The *Partiſans* of the Patriarch *Arſenus* [a], were prevailed upon, by the Sollicitations of the Emperour, to come into a Treaty with thoſe who were in the Intereſt of the Patriarch *Joſeph*. This Treaty ſpecified that both Parties ſhould write down their ſeveral Pretenſions,

[z] *Andronicus Palæologus.*
[a] *Pachymer.* l. 7.

and

and then throw the two Papers which contained them into a Pan of live Coals, and if one of them ſhould remain unconſumed, they were then to acquieſce with that Determination from Heaven; but if both ſhould happen to be burnt, the Parties were no longer to perſiſt in their Demands. The Fire deſtroyed the two Papers, the Factions were reconciled, and the Peace continued for a Day. The next Morning they pretended that the Renunciation of their Claims ought to flow from an internal Perſuaſion, and not from Chance, and from that Moment the Contention was renewed with greater Animoſity than ever.

The Diſputes of Divines ſhould always be conſidered with great Attention, but at the ſame Time this ought to be concealed as much as poſſible, becauſe any viſible Sollicitude to calm the contending Parties never fails to credit their Singularities, and conſequently tempts them to believe their Sentiments are of that Importance as to comprehend the Welfare of the State and the Security of the Sovereign.

It is altogether as impracticable to decide the Diſagreements of Clergymen by attending to their affected Subtilties, as it would be to aboliſh Duels by erecting a Court, with a Delegation to trace a Point of Honour through all its Refinements.

Such was the Imprudence of the *Greek* Emperors, that when a religious Controverſy had been lulled aſleep by Time, they again awakened it in all its Rage. *Juſtinian*, *Heraclius*, and *Manuel Comnenus* propoſed Articles of Faith to their Eccleſiaſtics and Laity, who would certainly have been deceived in the Truth tho' it had flowed from the Lips of thoſe Princes in all its Purity. And as they were always defective in Forms, and generally in Eſſentials, and grew deſirous of diſplaying their Penetration, which they might have manifeſted to more Advantage in other Affairs confided to their Judgment; they engaged in vain Diſputes on the Nature of God, who, as he withdraws himſelf from the proud Curioſity of the learned, ſo he vails the Majeſty of his Exiſtence as effectually from the great Men of the Earth.

'Tis an Error to believe any human Power can be abſolute and infallible in theſe Reſpects, for ſuch there never was, nor ever will be imparted to any mortal. The largeſt Extent of temporal Authority is confined to certain Limitations, and when the Grand Seignior ordains a new Taxation at *Conſtantinople*, the univerſal Murmurs of his Subjects make him ſenſible of thoſe Reſtrictions of his Power which till then were concealed from his Obſervation

vation. A Perſian Monarch may indeed compel a Son to murder his Father, or oblige a Parent to plunge his Dagger into the Heart of his Child, but he can never force his Subjects to drink Wine. There is a general Principle in every Nation which is the invariable Baſis of Power, and when once this Principle is too much loaded, it infallibly ſhrinks into ſmaller Dimenſions.

An unacquaintedneſs with the true Nature and Limits of Eccleſiaſtical and ſecular Power, was the moſt pernicious Source of all the Calamities that befel the *Greeks*, and involved both Prieſts and People in perpetual Errors.

This great Diſtinction, which conſtitutes all the Tranquillity of a Nation, is founded not only on Religion, but on Reaſon and Nature, which never confound Things really diſtinct in themſelves, and which can only ſubſiſt in Conſequence of that very Diſtinction.

Tho' the Prieſtood among the ancient *Romans* did not form a ſeparate Body, yet the Diſtinction we have been repreſenting, was as well known to them, as it can be to us. *Clodius* had conſecrated the Houſe of *Cicero* to the Goddeſs of Liberty, but when that great Orator returned from his Exile, he did not fail to demand it as his lawful Property: The *Pontifs* were of Opinion

that if it had been ſo conſecrated without an expreſs Order obtained from the People it might be reſtored to him without any Violation of Religion. They have declared ſays *Cicero* [b], that they only examined the Validity of the Conſecration and not the Law enacted by the People, and that they had decided the firſt Article as Pontifs, and the Second, in the Quality of Senators.

[b] *Epiſt. ad Attic.* l. 4.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXIII.

1ſt. The Duration of the Eaſtern Empire accounted for. 2d Its Deſtruction.

AFter this Account of the *Grecian* Empire, it ſeems natural to enquire how it could poſſibly ſubſiſt ſo long, and I believe ſufficient Reaſons may be aſſigned for that Duration.

The *Arabians* having invaded the Empire and conquered ſeveral Provinces, their Chiefs became Competitors for the *Khaſifat*, and the Flame of their firſt Zeal only burſt out in civil Diſſenſions.

The ſame People having conquered *Perſia* and afterwards divided and weakened themſelves in that Country, the *Greeks* were no longer obliged to keep the principal Forces of the Empire ſtationed on the Banks of *Euphrates*.

Callinicus an Architect, who came from *Syria* to *Conſtantinople*, invented an artificial Flame, which was eaſily ventilated into a Point by means of a Tube, and was of ſuch a peculiar Nature, that Water and every other Subſtance which extinguiſh common Fire did but increaſe the Violence of this. The *Greeks* were in Poſſeſſion of it for ſeveral Years, and managed it in ſuch a Man-

a Manner as made it capable of firing their Enemies Ships, particularly the *Arabian* Fleet which ſailed from *Africa* or the *Syrian* Coaſts to invade them even in *Conſtantinople.*

This Flame was ranked among the Secrets of State, and *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* in his Treatiſe on the Adminiſtration of the Empire, and which he dedicated to his Son *Romanus*, adviſes him to tell the *Barbarians*, when they ſhould deſire him to give them any of the *Grecian* Fire, that he was not permitted to part with it, becauſe an Angel who preſented it to the Emperor *Conſtantine*, commanded him to refuſe it to all other Nations, and that thoſe who had diſobey'd that Injunction were conſumed by a Fire from Heaven the Moment they entered into the Church.

Conſtantinople was the greateſt, and almoſt the only City of Commerce in the World, for the *Goths* on the one Side, and the *Arabians* on the other, had ruin'd all manner of Trafic and Induſtry in every other Part. The Silken Manufactures were brought thither from *Perſia*, and were even neglected in that Country ſince the *Arabian* Invaſion. We may add to this that the *Greeks* were Maſters at Sea, which opened an immenſe Flow of Riches into the State, and proved an inexhauſtible Source

of

of Relief in all its Emergencies; and if at any Time there ſeemed to be any Declenſion of the public Affluence, it was immediately recruited by a new Acceſſion.

We ſhall juſtify this Obſervation by a remarkable Inſtance: The Elder *Andronicus Comnenus*, tho' he was the *Nero* of the *Greeks*, yet amidſt all his Vices he was indefatigable in the Suppreſſion of Injuſtice and Vexations in the Grandees, and it is a known Fact, that during the three Years of his Reign he reſtored ſeveral Provinces to their ancient Splendor.

In Fine, the *Barbarians* having once fixed their Settlement on the Banks of the *Danube*, were no longer ſo formidable to the Empire as before, but rather became uſeful to it as a Barrier againſt other barbarous Nations. And thus whilſt the Empire was haraſſed by any bad Government, ſome particular Incidents were always in Reſerve for its Relief. Thus we ſee *Spain* and *Portugal* in a Condition, amidſt all their Weakneſs, to ſupport themſelves with the Treaſures of the *Indies*: The temporal Dominions of the *Pope* owe their Safety to the Reſpect paid to their Sovereign, and the Rovers of *Barbary* derive their Security from the Obſtructions they faſten upon the Commerce of leſſer [c] Nations, and the very Piracies of

[c] They infeſt the Navigation of the *Italians* in the *Mediterranean*.

theſe

theſe People on inferior States, make them ſerviceable in their turn to the Greater.

The *Turkiſh* Empire is at Preſent in the ſame State of Declenſion to which that of the *Greeks* was formerly [b] ſunk, but in all Probability it will ſtill be very durable; for ſhould any Prince endanger it by purſuing his own Conqueſts to an immoderate Extent, it will always be defended by the three trading Powers of *Europe*, who are too ſenſible of their own Intereſts ever to be unconcerned Spectators of its Fall.

It is happy for theſe trading Powers, that God has permitted *Turks* and *Spaniards* to be in the World, for of all Nations they are the moſt proper to enjoy a great Empire with Inſignificance.

In the Time of *Baſilius Porphyrogenitus*, the *Arabian* Power came to its Period in *Perſia*. *Mohammed* the Son of *Sambrael*,

[b] All Projects of this Nature againſt the *Turk*, and particularly ſuch as have any Similitude to that which was formed in the Papacy of *Leo* the tenth, by which it was concerted, that the Emperor ſhould march to *Conſtantinople* through *Boſnia*; the King of *France* through *Albania* and *Greece*, whilſt the maritime Powers were to embark at their ſeveral Ports; I ſay ſuch Projects were never ſeriouſly intended, or were framed at leaſt by thoſe who were altogether unacquainted with the true Conſtitution of *Europe*.

who

who was then Sovereign of that Empire invited four thouſand *Turks* from the North, in the Quality of Auxiliaries; but, upon a ſudden Diſſatisfaction conceived by this Prince, he ſent an Army againſt them, which was ſoon put to flight by the *Turks*. *Mohammed*, in the Height of his Indignation againſt his Puſillanimous Soldiers, gave orders that they ſhould paſs before him habited like Women, but they diſappointed his Anger and joined the *Turks*; upon which the united Army immediately diſlodged a Garriſon which were ſtationed to guard a Bridge over the *Araxes*, and opened a free Paſſage to a vaſt Body of their Countrymen.

When they had extended their Conqueſts through *Perſia*, they ſpread themſelves from Eaſt to Weſt over the Territories of the Empire, and *Romanus Diogenes*, who endeavour'd to oppoſe their Progreſs, became their Priſoner; after which they ſubdu'd all the *Aſiatic* Dominions of the *Greeks* down to the *Boſphorus*.

Some time after this Event the *Latins* invaded the Weſtern Regions, in the Reign of *Alexis Comnenus*. An unhappy Schiſm had for a long time infus'd an implacable Hatred between the Nations of two different Communions, and would have produced fatal Effects much ſooner, had not the

Italians

Italians been more attentive to check the *German* Emperors whom they fear'd, than they were to diſtreſs the *Greek* Emperors whom they only hated.

Affairs were in this Situation, when all *Europe* imbib'd a religious Belief, that the Place where *Jeſus Chriſt* was born, as well as that where he accompliſh'd his Paſſion, being profan'd by the Infidels, the ſureſt Attonement they could make for their own Sins would be to diſpoſſeſs thoſe *Barbarians* of their Acquiſitions by Force of Arms. *Europe* at that time ſwarm'd with People who were fond of War, and had many Crimes to expiate, and as they propos'd to obtain their Remiſſion by indulging their prevailing Paſſion, every Man arm'd himſelf for the Cruſade.

When this conſecrated Army arriv'd in the Eaſt, they beſieg'd and made themſelves Maſters of *Nice*, which they reſtor'd to the *Greeks*; and whilſt the *Infidels* were ſeiz'd with a general Conſternation, *Alexis* and *John Comnenus* chas'd the *Turks* to the Banks of *Euphrates*.

But as advantagious as theſe Cruſades might be to the *Greeks*, the Emperors trembled to ſee ſuch a Succeſſion of fierce Heroes and formidable Armies marching thro' the Heart of their Dominions.

This

This induc'd them to leave nothing unattempted that might create a Diſſatisfaction in *Europe* at theſe Expeditions; and the Votaries to the Croſs, were continually enſnar'd by every Inſtance of Treachery that could poſſibly be expected from a timorous Enemy.

It muſt be acknowledg'd that the *French*, who promoted theſe Expeditions, had not practiſed any Conduct that could render their Preſence very ſupportable; and we may judge by the Invectives of *Ann Comnenus* againſt our Nation, that we act without much Precaution in foreign Countries, and were at that time chargeable with the ſame exceptionable Freedoms we are reproach'd for at this Day.

A *French* Nobleman was going to ſeat himſelf upon the Emperor's Throne, but Earl *Baldwin* caught him by the Arm; You ought to know, ſaid he, that when we are in any Country whatever, 'tis proper to comply with the Cuſtoms that prevail there. I think I am a compleat Countryman, reply'd the other, to ſit whilſt ſo many Captains are ſtanding.

The *Germans*, who came after the *French*, and were the moſt civil and undeſigning People in the World[f], ſuffer'd very ſeverely

[f] Hiſtory of *Manuel Comnenus* by *Nicetas*, L. I.

for

for our Follies, and were continually embarrass'd with a Set of Diſpoſitions that had been ſufficiently irritated by our Countrymen againſt all Foreigners.

In fine, the Averſion of thoſe Eaſtern People was work'd up to the higheſt Extream; and this with ſome Incivilities offer'd to the *Venetian* Merchants, operating upon the Ambition, Avarice and falſe Zeal of that Nation as well as the *French*, determined them to form a Cruſade againſt the *Greeks*.

The united Army of theſe two *European* Nations found their Enemies altogether as puſillanimous and unwarlike as the *Chineſe* appear'd to the *Tartars* in our Time. The *Frenchmen* ridicul'd their effeminate Habit[g], and walk'd through the Streets of *Conſtantinople* dreſs'd in flower'd Mantles, and carrying Pens and Paper in their Hands, in Deriſion to that Nation, who had degenerated from all military Diſcipline, and when the War was over, they refus'd to admit any *Greeks* into their Troops.

The *Venetians* and *French* ſoon after declar'd for the Weſtern Empire, and transferr'd the Imperial Throne to the Earl of

[g] *Nicet.* Hiſtory of the Eaſtern Tranſaction after the taking of *Conſtantinople*, C. III.

Flanders,

Flanders, whoſe Dominions being very diſtant, could not create any Jealouſy in the *Italians*. The *Greeks* ſtill ſupported themſelves in the Eaſt, being ſeparated from the *Turks* by a Chain of Mountains, and divided from the *Italians* by the Sea.

The *Latins*, who found no Obſtacles in their Conqueſts, met with many in their Settlement. The *Greeks* return'd from *Aſia* into *Europe*, retook *Conſtantinople*, and ſeized the greateſt part of the Weſt.

This new Empire however was but a faint Shadow of the Former, and had no ſolid Power for its Baſis.

It comprehended few Territories in *Aſia*, beſides the Provinces on this ſide the *Meander* and *Sangar*, and moſt of thoſe in *Europe* were parcel'd out into ſmall Sovereignties.

We may add to this, that during the Sixty Years the *Latins* were poſſeſs'd of *Conſtantinople*, the conquer'd People being diſpers'd and the Victors engag'd in War, all Commerce was transferr'd to the Cities in *Italy*, and *Conſtantinople* became diveſted of its Riches.

The Commerce even of the Inland Countries was carried on by the *Latins*. The *Greeks*[h], who were but newly re-eſtabliſh'd,

[h] *Cantacuzen.* L. IV.

and

and were likewiſe alarm'd with innumerable Apprehenſions, became deſirous to ingratiate themſelves with the *Genoeſe*, by granting them a Permiſſion to traffic without paying any Duties; and as they were unwilling to irritate the *Venetians*, who had not accepted of Peace, but only conſented to a Truce, theſe were likewiſe diſcharged from the ſame Payments.

Tho' *Manuel Comnenus* had ſuffer'd the Navigation of the Empire to decline before *Conſtantinople* was taken, yet it could be eaſily re-eſtabliſh'd, ſince Commerce ſtill ſubſiſted; but when all maritime Affairs became entirely neglected under the new Empire, the Miſchief grew remedileſs, becauſe the Power of the Empire was daily declining.

This State, which extended its Dominion over many Iſlands, and was interſected by the Sea, which likewiſe ſurrounded ſeveral of its Territories, was entirely unprovided of Ships. The former Communication no longer ſubſiſted between the Provinces, the Inhabitants [i] were oblig'd to ſhelter themſelves in the Inland Parts from Pyrates, and when they thought themſelves ſafe in ſuch a Sanctuary, they ſoon found it neceſſary to retire into the Fortreſſes, to pre-

[i] *Pachymer.* L. VII.

ſerve

ſerve themſelves from the Hoſtilities of the *Turks*.

Theſe barbarous People were at that time engag'd in a peculiar War againſt the *Greeks*, and might properly be call'd Hunters of Men. They ſometimes march'd two hundred Leagues into a Country to accompliſh their Depredations; and as they were in Subjection to ſeveral Sultans[k], it was impoſſible to purchaſe a Peace from every Tribe; and to procure it from any particular Parties, was altogether inſignificant. Theſe *Barbarians* had embraced *Mohammediſm*, and their Zeal for that Religion ſtrangely prompted them to ravage the Chriſtian Territories: Beſides, as they were the moſt unamiable People on Earth[l], and were married to Wives as diſagreeable as themſelves, the Moment they were acquain-

[k] *Cantacuzen.* L. III. c. 96. *Pachymer.* L. XI. c. 9.

[l] This Circumſtance gave Birth to a Northern Tradition related by *Jornandes* the *Goth*, That *Philimer*, King of the *Goths*, having made an Inrode into the *Getic* Territories, found ſeveral Women who were Sorcereſſes, and drove them to a great Diſtance from his Army; after which thoſe female Magicians wandered in the Deſerts, where that Species of *Dæmons* call'd *Incubi*, conſorted with them, and by their amorous Familiarities produc'd the Nation of the *Huns*. *Genus ferociſſimum quod fuit primum inter paludes minutum tetrum atque exile, nec aliud voce notum, niſi quæ humani ſermonis imaginem aſſignabat.* *i. e.* A fierce and ſavage

ted

ted with the *Grecian* Women, all the reſt of that Sex became inſupportable to them, and thoſe beauteous Females were continually expos'd to the brutal Paſſion of theſe *Barbarians*[m]. In fine, they had been always accuſtom'd to invade the Properties of other People, and were the ſame *Huns* who had formerly involv'd the *Roman* Empire in ſo many Calamities.

The *Turks* broke in like a Deluge upon the ſhatter'd Remains of the *Grecian* Empire in *Aſia*, and thoſe of the Inhabitants who were happy enough to eſcape their Fury, fled before them to the *Boſphorus*, from whence ſuch as could accommodate themſelves with Ships, ſail'd to thoſe Parts of the Empire that were ſituated in *Europe*, which occaſion'd a conſiderable Addition to the Number of the Inhabitants, tho' they were diminiſh'd in a ſhort Period of Time: For Civil Wars began to rage with ſo much

People, who liv'd ſequeſtred from the reſt of Mankind, among Fens and Marſhes, ghaſtly and haggard in their Perſons, and whoſe Voices were only an imperfect Articulation of human Speech.

[m] *Michael Ducas*'s Hiſt. of *John Manuel*, *John* and *Conſtantine*, *c. b. Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* obſerves, at the Beginning of his Extract of the Embaſſies, that when the *Barbarians* came to *Conſtantinople*, the *Romans* ought to have been very cautious of ſhewing them the Grandeur of their Riches, and the Beauty of their Wives.

Fatality,

Fatality, that the Two Factions invited ſeveral *Turkiſh* Sultans to their Aſſiſtance[n], with this extravagant and inhuman Stipulation, that all the People of the Country, who were made Captives from the oppoſite Party, ſhould be carried into Slavery; by which Means each of thoſe Factions concurr'd in the Deſtruction of their own Country with a View of ruining their Adverſaries.

Bajazet having conquer'd all the other Sultans, the *Turks* would then have acted agreeably to their future Behaviour in the Reign of *Mohammed* II. had not they been in danger of Extermination by the *Tartars*.

I am now afraid to deſcribe the Miſeries which reſulted from theſe Revolutions, and ſhall only intimate, that the Empire under its laſt Monarchs, being contracted within the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*, finiſh'd its Progreſs like the *Rhine*, which ſhrinks into a Rivulet before it loſes it ſelf in the Ocean.

[n] See the Hiſtory of the Emperors *John Palæologus* and *John Cantacuzenus*, written by *Cantacuzenus*.

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